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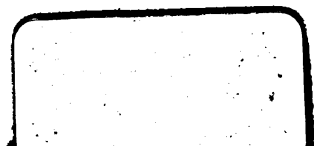
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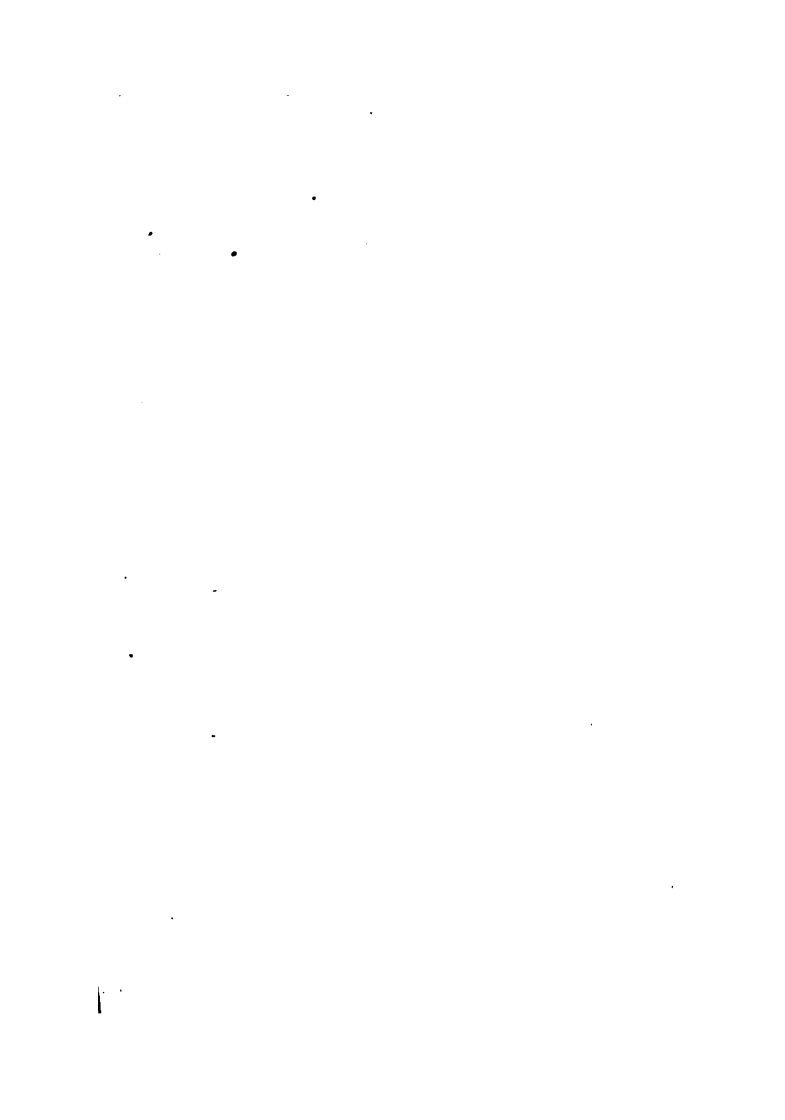
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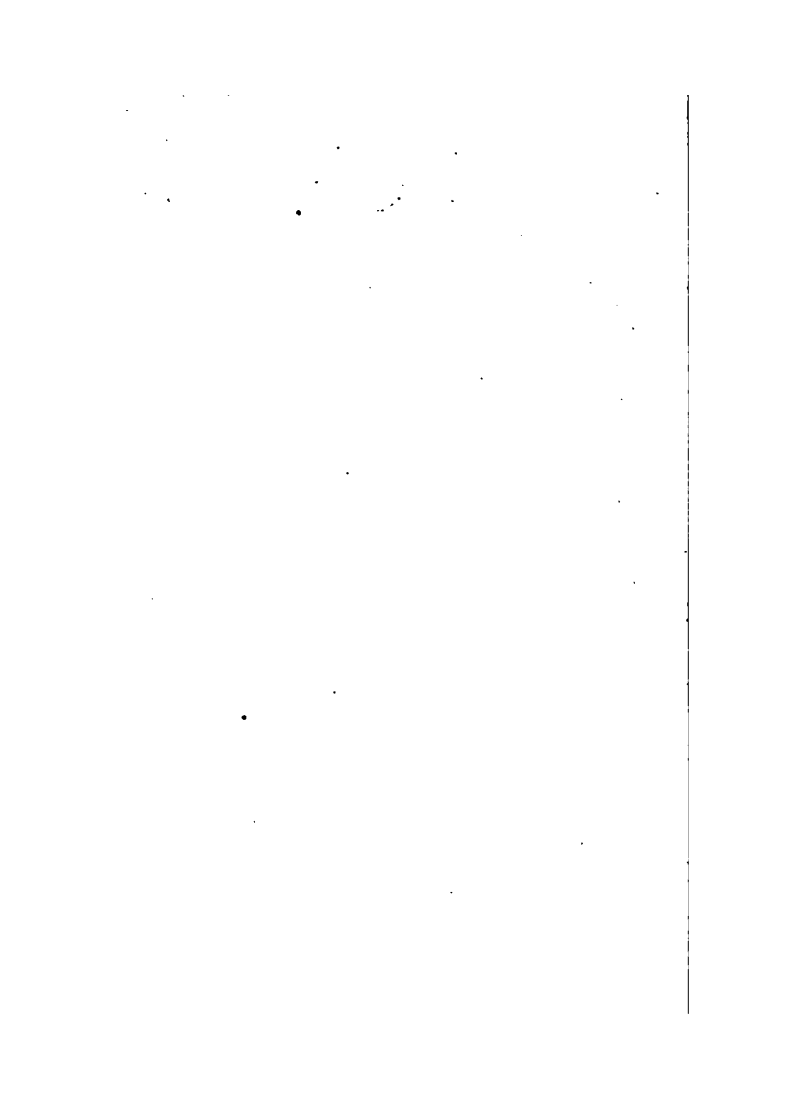
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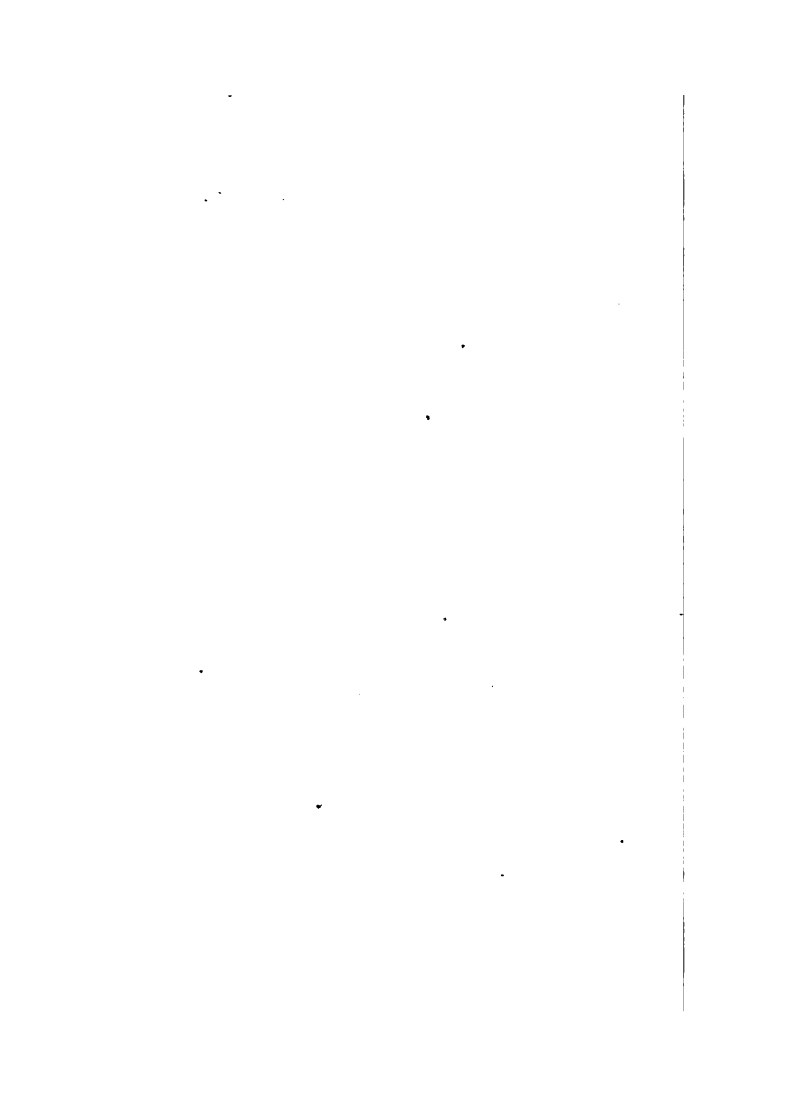






*Geo. (Sydney)  
16<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1850*

**LIFE**  
**OF THE**  
**DUKE OF WELLINGTON**







THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

**LIFE**  
**OF**  
**FIELD MARSHAL**  
**HIS GRACE THE DUKE**  
**OF**  
**WELLINGTON ;**  
**DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

**WITH**  
**AN APPENDIX.**

---

**BY ANDREW R. BONAR.**

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**HALIFAX:**  
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## PREFACE.

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THE object of the present work is to give an interesting and clear account of the career of the Duke of Wellington, and the period of history which it comprehends embraces many of the most interesting results of British valour and skill. The chief difficulty has been to do justice to the character of the illustrious chief within the limits of a single volume. Care has been taken constantly to refer to the most valuable and authentic historical works relating to the period, and especially to those narratives of the Peninsular War which have employed the pens of many of our ablest and best informed writers. The author has to express his acknowledgments both for incidental remarks, and occasionally for more lengthened extracts, (which will be found duly indicated) to the following, among other works—Dr. Southey's valuable History of the Peninsular War; to Major Napier's History; to the Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns; to Alison's eloquent and philosophical History of Europe; to Scott's Life of Napoleon; and also to Shearer's Military Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington. To bring down the work to the present time, a brief Sketch of the Duke's Political Career has also been added; with an



Appendix, composed of extracts from the Despatches, including accounts of the most celebrated battles. A double account of some most important events is thus furnished ; and independently of the interest as it were, of hearing the Duke of Wellington himself narrate them : these extracts are valuable as affording insight into personal character.

# CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

|                                                 |      |
|-------------------------------------------------|------|
| Birth and Parentage—Education—Enters the Army—  | PAGE |
| Campaign in Holland—Projected Expedition to the |      |
| West Indies—Sails for India—State of the Com-   |      |
| pany's Possessions—War with Tippoo—Military     |      |
| Movements—Siege of Seringapatam—Tippoo killed   |      |
| —Colonel Wellesley Commander of Seringapatam    | 1.   |

## CHAPTER II.

|                                                       |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Operations in the Mysore Territory—Irruption of Dhoo- |   |
| diah Waugh—Defeat—Colonel Wellesley's Pros-           |   |
| pects—Expedition to Egypt—Wellesley's illness—        |   |
| Takes the Field against Holkar—Mahratta War—          |   |
| Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar—Plan of the Cam-      |   |
| paign—Assault of Ahmednuggur—Battle of Assaye         |   |
| —Battle of Argaum—Siege of Gawilghur—Treaty—          |   |
| Honours conferred on General Wellesley—Marquis        |   |
| Wellesley's Summary of the Results of the Campaign    | 2 |

## CHAPTER III.

|                                                    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------|----|
| Sir Arthur Wellesley's Return to England—Elected a |    |
| Member of the House of Commons—Marriage—           |    |
| Chief Secretary for Ireland—Danish Expedition—     |    |
| Affair at Kluge—Bombardment of Copenhagen—         |    |
| Negotiations.....                                  | 49 |

## CHAPTER IV.

|                                                    |  |
|----------------------------------------------------|--|
| Introductory Remarks—Conquests of Napoleon—Affairs |  |
| of Spain—Charles IV.—Godoy—Ferdinand—Napo-         |  |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | PAGE. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| leon's Designs—Treaty of Fontainebleau—Departure of the Portuguese Royal Family—Junot enters Lisbon—Intrigues at the Spanish Court—King's Abdication—Ferdinand goes to Bayonne—Insurrections at Madrid—Vengeance of the French—Origin of the Peninsular War—Spaniards desire aid from England .....              | 55    |
| CHAPTER V.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |       |
| Remarks on the Spanish Peninsula—Desire of British Aid—First Military Efforts of the Spaniards—First Siege of Saragossa—Defeats sustained by the French—Capitulation of Baylen—Events in Portugal ....                                                                                                           | 71    |
| CHAPTER VI.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |       |
| English Expedition sails from 'Cork—Sir A. Wellesley proceeds to Corunna—Proclamation—Landing in Mondego Bay—Junot's Proceedings—Combat at Rolica—Reinforcements—Battle of Vimiero—Sir A. Wellesley superseded by Sir H. Burrard—Sir H. Dalrymple—Convention of Cintra—Court of Inquiry—Napoleon's efforts ..... | 85    |
| CHAPTER VII.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |       |
| Napoleon's advance to Madrid—Sir John Moore's Expedition—Retreat—Sufferings and Insubordination of the Army—Battle of Corunna—Death of Moore—Operations of the Spaniards—Defence of Saragossa—Soult's advance into Portugal .....                                                                                | 105   |
| CHAPTER VIII.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |       |
| Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed Commander in Portugal—His Plans—Passage of the Douro—Soult's Situation—Obstacles to Sir A. Wellesley—Jourdan's Advance—Battle of Talavera—Effects of the Victory—Difficulties—Sir A. Wellesley proceeds to Badajoz—Preparations for the Defence of Portugal..                     | 130   |

## CHAPTER IX.

PAGE.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| British Head-quarters fixed at Vizen—Arrangement of the Forces—Motions of Beresford and Hill—Junot advances upon Astorga—Battle of Busaco—Movements of the opposing Armies—Portugal abandoned by the French—March to Lisbon—Sufferings of the Portuguese ..... | 155 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAPTER X.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Operations in the South-West of Spain—Battle of Barrosa—Position of the British—Description of the Neighbourhood of Lisbon—Massena's Retreat—Battle of Albuera—Almeida—Battle of Fuentes d'Honore—Lord Wellington's Movements—Proceedings in Spain—Blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo—Affair at Grunaldo—Aldea de Pontes—Lord Wellington's Difficulties ..... | 198 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAPTER XI.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Siege and Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—Siege of Badajoz—Communications between Soult and Marmont interrupted—Victory of Salamanca—Retreat of the Enemy—Allied Army enters Madrid—Lord Wellington leaves Madrid—Attempt upon Burgos—Retreat of Lord Wellington—Created a Marquis—Marquis Wellington's Preparations—Reception at Cadiz and Lisbon ..... | 210 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAPTER XII.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Napoleon's declining power—Movements of the Allies—Passages of the Carrion and the Ebro—Battle of Vittoria—Its Results—Siege of St. Sebastian—Soult's attempt to relieve Pampeluna—Operations among the Pyrenees—Storming of St. Sebastian—Operations on the Frontier ..... | 266 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAPTER XIII.

PAGE

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Lord Wellington enters France—Crosses the Nivelle—<br>Actions in the Pyrenees—Position of the French<br>at Bayonne—Napoleon's Situation—Crossing of<br>the Adour—Battle of Orthes—Soult retires to<br>Toulouse—Battle of Toulouse—Marquis Wellington<br>returns to England—His Reception—Receives the<br>thanks of Parliament—Made a Duke—Proceeds as<br>Ambassador to Paris..... | 300 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAPTER XIV.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Napoleon's return from Elba—Duke of Wellington pro-<br>ceeds to oppose him—Preparations—Napoleon drives<br>in the Prussian outposts—Battle of Quatre Bras—<br>Battle of Ligny—Position of the Duke of Wellin-<br>gton's army—Battle of Waterloo, and total defeat of<br>Napoleon ..... | 335 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAPTER XV.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Sketch of the Duke of Wellington's Political Life—<br>Master-General of the Ordnance—Mr. Canning's<br>Ministry—Lord Goderich's—Wellington Prime Mi-<br>nister—Prospects of the Government—Test and<br>Corporation Acts repealed—Catholic Emancipation<br>—Defeat and Resignation of the Ministry—Acce-<br>sion of the Whigs to office—Reform Bill—Wellin-<br>gton called upon by the King to form a Ministry—<br>His failure—William IV. dismisses the remnant of<br>the Reform Administration—Duke of Wellington<br>and Sir Robert Peel take Office—Their various de-<br>feats and Resignation—Dinner to the Duke of Wel-<br>lington at Dover—Estimate of his Character..... | 370 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| APPENDIX ..... | 407 |
|----------------|-----|

# LIFE

OF

## THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

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### CHAPTER I.

Birth and Parentage—Education—Enters the Army—Campaign in Holland—Projected Expedition to the West Indies—Sails for India—State of Company's Possessions—War with Tippoo—Military Movements—Siege of Seringapatam—Death of Tippoo—Colonel Wellesley Commander of Seringapatam.

THE HON. ARTHUR WELLESLEY, third son of the Earl of Mornington, was born at the family seat, on the first of May, 1769. The loss occasioned by the early death of their father, was supplied to the family by the prudence and attention of their mother. Of the childhood and youth of the distinguished subject of the following biography, no incidents worth recording have been preserved. After having studied at Eton, having made choice of the profession of arms, he was removed to the military school of Angers, which at that time enjoyed great celebrity, and was a diligent student of those various branches of theoretical and practical science which are necessary to the formation of the accomplished

soldier. He received his first commission as ensign in the 73rd foot, in 1787, when in his eighteenth year. As subaltern and captain he served both in the cavalry and infantry ; in 1798, he was appointed to a majority in the 33rd foot ; and in the spring of that year, he became Lieutenant Colonel of the same corps, by purchase. All this time he was busily engaged with professional studies ; but being now in command of a regiment, he was naturally anxious for active service. An opportunity was soon afforded, and his regiment landed at Ostend, in June 1794, having been sent to join the forces commanded by the Duke of York. The state of affairs upon the Continent was then critical ; the allied forces were placed in a disadvantageous position, and had already sustained several reverses of fortune. The Austrians had been thrice defeated ; the Hanoverians had been compelled to evacuate Bruges ; the Duke of York had been driven from his position at Ghent, and Lord Moira, with a force of 8,000 men, originally intended to make a descent on Brittany, was compelled to hasten to his assistance. Colonel Wellesley's regiment, with two other battalions, was directed to proceed by sea to Antwerp ; and here the future conqueror first beheld an army in the field. Yet, to an ardent mind, the movements of the British in this campaign, which were wholly defensive, must have been somewhat disheartening. Few opportunities of distinction presented themselves, but these few were improved. The 33rd regiment were engaged in several sharp skirmishes ; and so well did its young commander acquit himself, that, towards the close of the campaign he was selected by General Dundas to cover, with the brigade to which he was attached, the difficult and trying retreat from Holland ; the manner

in which Colonel Wellesley discharged this trust, rendered him a marked man, and was an earnest of his future fame. The army had formidable obstacles to struggle with. Their route lay through a deserted and flat heathy country; the villages, or rather hamlets, were small and at distant intervals; the ground was covered with snow, and the wind and sleet beat directly against their faces. Many perished from cold and fatigue. The army, however, returned to England with untarnished honour, if with doubtful success; they had failed because of divided councils, deficiency of supplies, and scanty numbers. Yet though his first campaign was far from brilliant, the active observation and energetic mind of Colonel Wellesley must have derived many advantages from it. He had seen something of war upon an extended scale; had felt the need of forethought and energy; had become aware of the defects of the regimental economy at that time; (defects afterwards amply remedied by the diligence and wisdom of the Commander-in-Chief) his position had fostered that coolness and caution so visible in his after career. He had become familiar with the sound of war, amid which so much of his subsequent life was to be spent; he had heard the inspiring cheer of the British soldier, and felt that confidence in his nerve and vigour, which in his future fields, taught him to rely on their powers, in those great and daring actions, which his skilful combinations crowned with success.

The 33rd regiment was soon after ordered to accompany the fleet of Admiral Christian, destined for the West Indies; but the protracted and furious gales caused the expedition to be abandoned, after six weeks of most tempestuous weather at sea. In the spring, however, of 1796, Colonel Wellesley's



corps was ordered to embark for India. Their commander was then labouring under a severe illness ; but immediately upon his recovery, set sail and joined them at the Cape, and after arriving at Bengal, reached Calcutta early in 1797. It was remarked that during his passage, he occupied much of his time in the perusal of the chief works relating to India, thus storing his mind with well-digested information, and preparing it to meet future emergencies.

When Colonel Wellesley reached India, the Company's possessions were apparently in a state of perfect peace. But the deceitful calm was about to be broken. Fortunately, Lord Wellesley, the next Governor General, who entered upon his duties the year after his brother's arrival, possessed both acuteness to discern the hostile plans of the native powers, as well as wisdom and activity to frustrate them. Tippoo, the Sultan of Mysore, always an inveterate and restless enemy of the British, sought alliance with the French, and had likewise intrigued with several of the native courts, with such success, that a storm of war seemed likely to burst upon the Company's possessions. His own power was likewise formidable ; for though he had been compelled to cede half his territories to the Company and their allies, he yet ruled with absolute sway over a country 200,000 square miles in extent, and could bring into the field an army of 150,000 men. He was of a turbulent and vindictive spirit, and his territory was most favourably placed for hostile purposes, since it lay almost in the centre of the British settlements, and by a sudden irruption into the Carnatic, might easily overpower Madras. The chief ally of the British also might waver in his faith ; (for his character was known to be irresolute ; ) he

had suffered greatly in a recent war with the Peshwa ; 14,000 French mercenaries were in his service, and his chief military officers were partizans of the French republic.

Early in June, 1798, a proclamation by the Governor of the Isle of France reached Bengal, which contained a statement that Tippoo only waited for French assistance, to expel the English from India. All French citizens were already invited to join the Sultan's standard ; who had likewise sent emissaries to the sovereign of Cabul, entreating him to attack the British territories from the north. Lord Wellesley immediately prepared for war. Orders were transmitted to General Harris, commander at Madras, to assemble all the disposable forces of the Carnatic, so as to be near the scene of action. The Nizam was prevailed upon to disband the French troops in his service ; a mutiny broke out among them, and a British force being sent into the Decan, surrounded and disarmed them. The remonstrances sent to Tippoo having been disregarded, preparations were made for carrying on the war on such a scale, as, if possible, entirely to destroy his power.

The invasion was to take place simultaneously from several points ; and on the 3rd of February, the forces were ordered to advance into the Mysore territory. General Harris entered into the Carnatic, with the main body ; General Stuart with the Bombay force from the west ; and Colonels Brown and Read from the southern Carnatic and the Baramahli ; the whole amounting to 55,000 men.

Tippoo, alarmed at this formidable force, endeavoured to cause delay by means of negotiations, but these could not now be received ; the season for active service was come, and delay would only

have allowed the enemy to gain strength. General Harris was directed to advance upon Seringapatam. Meanwhile the Sultan's forces, concealed by woody ground, stole silently up and attacked the British advance, which consisted of a single brigade of native troops; but these gallantly maintained their ground for the space of five hours, till General Stuart brought up a reinforcement. At length Tippoo withdrew to his camp at Periapatam, after having sustained a loss of 1500 men. General Harris's march was impeded by the necessity of carrying along with him the materials for a siege, and by great mortality among the carriage bullocks. He did not reach Mallavelly till almost the end of March. Here the Sultan's array first became visible, drawn up on the high ground, and prepared for attack. Clouds of the enemy's horse scoured the country in all directions, setting the towns and villages on fire. Colonel Wellesley's force, consisting of his own regiment, and the Nizam's troops, supported by General Floyd's cavalry, advanced upon the left, while the right wing was led forward by General Harris. The whole line then speedily engaged, and the Sultan's troops were driven from their ground, after an obstinate engagement, and the fugitives were fiercely pursued by the cavalry. In this affair, Colonel Wellesley's regiment made a brilliant charge with the bayonet.

The British army having forded the Cauvery, compelled the Sultan to retreat upon his capital. On the 15th of April they encamped before Seringapatam, at the distance of 3500 yards. The encampment was happily situated; the right on high ground, the left secured by an aqueduct, and the river Cauvery; deep ravines protected the rear from the enemy's flying cavalry. Still, however,

this strong position was commanded by some elevated ground, whence the camp was annoyed by the discharge of rockets. Colonels Wellesley and Shaw moved forward at night, to drive back the advanced posts of the enemy ; they were received with a heavy fire, and their efforts were but partially successful, Colonel Shaw having only made himself master of a ruined village. Next day, however, three simultaneous attacks were made to drive back the enemy from the whole line of his outposts ; a strong force was brought to bear upon them under cover of guns previously posted.

Colonel Wellesley again commanded the attack upon the point which had been before attempted ; the enemy was driven back in every quarter ; a series of posts, two miles in length, at the distance of 1800 yards from the fort, were secured ; and General Harris enabled to draw a complete line of contravallation. By this successful enterprize, the fate of Seringapatam was almost already decided.

The operations of the siege were now pushed on with the utmost possible despatch. The strength of the place was formidable. " Many of the large fortresses of the native powers, are lofty and difficult of access ; constructed of solid masonry, with double and winding gateways ; having walls of a terrific height, without any ramparts, and round towers at the angles. Seringapatam is fortified in the old Indian fashion ; obstacles are clumsily multiplied ; and especially at the south-west angle, wall rises above wall, in complicated obstruction. The north-western angle was selected as the point of attack ; the river (on an island of which, Seringapatam is situated) being at that season low, its bed wide, and filled with rocks and fragments of

granite.”\* General Harris had been already joined by the Bombay army, under Stuart, and the cavalry commanded by Floyd ; on their march they had been much annoyed by parties of the enemy’s horse. Meanwhile the works were rapidly advancing ; a portion of the army took up a position within 1000 yards of the western angle of the fort, and likewise seized upon the bed of a water-course which lay to the south. The sultan now became alarmed, and sent repeated proposals to head-quarters ; but the time of mercy was past, and the only alternative left to him was an unconditional surrender. The Bombay army was assailed by 6000 native troops, and Sally’s Frenchmen, but after repeated fierce attempts, they were driven off with great loss. During these occurrences, Colonel Wellesley was most active and vigilant, ever inspecting the progress of the siege, and making frequent visits to the General. On the 26th he directed the attack upon some intrenchments situated behind a water-course, at the distance of about 380 yards from the walls ; the enemy made a spirited resistance, but the bravery of our men speedily overcame them.

On the 30th, the breaching battery opened on the bastion, and on the 2nd of May another battery was directed against the right curtain, while guns from various other directions sent their dreadful showers upon the walls. The surrounding hills reverberated the thunders which seemed almost to shake the fort. At night a magazine of rockets suddenly blew up within the fortress, and filled the sky with flashes of flame. Next morning the breach was announced as practicable ; and by night the main rampart was a pile of crumbling ruins. Scaling ladders, fascines, &c., had been previously prepared, and the

\* Sherer’s Military Memoirs.

assault was fixed upon for next day at noon, as then the defenders would be least vigilant. In the morning, 2500 European, and 1800 native troops, under General Baird, were placed in the breaches for the assault. The heat was intense, the massy walls of the fortress were silent, and deep stillness prevailed in the crowded trenches.

The attacking force was to move forward in two columns ; that on the right commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke, the left by Colonel Dunlop ; each being preceded by forlorn hopes headed by Lieutenants Hill and Lawrence. Colonel Wellesley's brigade was stationed in the trenches to support the assault if necessary. At one o'clock the awful stillness was broken by the voice of Sir David Baird, who called out, " Now my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers ! " The troops rose from the trenches ; the forlorn hope dashed forward, followed closely by the advancing columns. A tremendous fire opened upon the troops, as they passed across the broad and rocky channel of the Cauvery. In spite of every obstacle, the British flag erected by a brave serjeant\* waved from the top of the breach, which in a few moments was thronged by men, who, filing off right and left, entered upon the ramparts. The enemy fled in a panic ; numbers threw down their arms, while others, by the long folds of their turbans endeavoured to lower themselves down to the ground, and many were dashed to pieces in the attempt. The left column however met with more opposition. The enemy had previously erected traverses, behind which, as they were driven back,

\* His name was Graham, he had been promised a Lieutenancy if he succeeded, but at the moment of planting the standard, he was shot through the heart.

they successively took refuge. But the 12th regiment having crossed the ditch which divided the outer and inner ramparts, fortunately discovered a narrow opening through which the workmen had passed, the traverses were thus turned, and the enemy driven from them with great loss. Here the Sultan himself had fought with the greatest intrepidity, freely exposing his person, and incessantly discharging loaded muskets upon his assailants, and using every means to stimulate the courage of his troops. But as the English gained, and his men deserted their posts, he slowly and reluctantly retired. Complaining of pain in his leg, where he had formerly received a wound, he rode towards the gate of the inner fort, followed by his palanquin, and a number of his officers and troops. Here he was struck on the right side by a musket-ball, and soon afterwards by a second. The passage was crowded with fugitives struggling to make their way, for the British troops were advancing in both directions. The constant fire of the victors choked up the archway with the dead and dying. The Sultan's wounded horse sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground : his attendants placed the wounded warrior in his palanquin, where he lay exhausted and motionless. The English soldiers poured in : one made a snatch at the Sultan's sword-belt, which was covered with rich ornaments. Roused by the insult, Tippoo with his expiring strength, dealt the soldier a heavy cut upon the knee ; who starting back, shot the Sultan through the head. The body was thrown out of the palanquin, and lay covered by heaps of the slain.

The palace surrendered after a brief parley, and General Baird, who had languished in rigorous confinement three years within the town, now stood at

its gates a conqueror. Tippoo's youthful sons were led trembling into his presence ; knowing the cruelty their father had exercised towards the English captives, they probably expected immediate death, but the victor kindly received them, and quieted their fears.

General Baird proceeded in search of the Sultan's corpse, the features of the dead were scrutinized by torch-light ; a number of bodies were examined, and they at last found it beneath a pile of slain. Turban, jacket, and sword had vanished ; but, bound upon his right arm, was the amulet, which he constantly wore. The countenance was undistorted, and bore an expression of stern composure ; the eyes were open, and the body still warm, so that the bystanders could scarcely at first believe that life was extinct. The body was conveyed to the court of the palace.

Colonel Wellesley remained in command of the captured city, General Baird having retired. He issued orders that the Sultan's funeral should be performed with every mark of respect. Four flank companies of Europeans, attended as a guard of honour, and minute guns were fired. Verses were chanted by the kauzee from the Koran, and the inhabitants responded. The streets were filled with mournful crowds, and many threw themselves before the bier. Thus was buried Tippoo—a stern and arbitrary prince, yet both respected and feared by his subjects.

More than 8,000 of the defenders of the fortress had fallen. The chief carnage had taken place around the great mosque, where the staunch mus-sulmen had made a desperate stand. Colonel Wellesley exerted his power for the protection of the frightened inhabitants ; and the few acts of rapine and violence which took place, were instantly check-



ed with a firm hand. In person he was busied in restoring confidence to the people, and before three days had elapsed, order was restored, and the bazaars and chief streets occupied with busy crowds. While Colonel Wellesley commanded the garrison of Seringapatam, the duties he had to discharge were of a difficult and complicated nature. The total overthrow of the government of Mysore, and the dispersion of all the local authorities, compelled him, not only generally to superintend, but also to regulate the minute details of each department. He acquitted himself of these arduous duties to the entire satisfaction of all. He soon became a favourite, even with the natives, who could not fail to contrast his mild and merciful government, with the tyranny and oppression of their late ruler ; and to this very day, his remembrance is engraven on the hearts of many of the inhabitants of Seringapatam. Studious at all times of the feelings of others, he invariably treated the conquered with delicacy and forbearance, protected their property from outrage, and exerted himself to promote their interests. At this season, also, that punctuality and attention to the details of business, and that capacity for the discharge of civil duties, which are now acknowledged features in his character, were clearly manifested.

The booty acquired by the capture of Seringapatam, was inferior to the expectations of the victors. However ten lacs of rupees worth of jewels, with 500 camel loads of rich garments, merchandize, &c. were found ; exclusive of the Sultan's throne, which was so massive that it could not be carried away.\*

\* The Sultan's throne, we are told, being too unwieldy to be conveyed away, was broken up. It consisted of a *howdah*, or armed seat, upon a tiger covered with sheet gold : the

## CHAPTER II.

**Operations in the Mysore Territory—**Irruption of Dhoondiah Waugh—Defeat—Colonel Wellesley's prospects—Expedition to Egypt—Wellesley's Illness—Takes the Field against Holkar—Mahratta War—Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar—Plan of the Campaign—Assault of Ahmednugger—Siege of Gawilghur—Treaty—Honours conferred on General Wellesley—Marquis of Wellesley's Summary of the Campaign.

**AFTER** the division of the Mysore territory, Colonel Wellesley was appointed sole commander of those portions of it which had become subject to British authority. In the year 1800, however, the tranquillity of Mysore was interrupted by the enterprise of a robber chief named Dhoondiah Waugh. This man had been released from captivity by the English, who had found him languishing in one of Tip-poo's dungeons ; by whom he had been treacherously ensnared, after he had received the promise of pardon for a predatory excursion made into the Sultan's dominions. No sooner had he been set at

ascent was by silver steps, gilt ; the canopy was equally superb, and decorated with a costly fringe of white pearls all around it. The eyes and teeth of the tiger were of glass ; it was valued at 60,000 pagodas, or upwards of £25,000 sterling. The sheet gold alone was estimated at 40,000 pagodas. Every inch of the howdah contained an Arabic inscription, chiefly from the Koran, and superbly stamped, being raised and polished in the most beautiful manner.

A gold figure of a bird, covered over with the most precious stones was fastened to the top of the canopy ; its beak was a large emerald, its eyes were carbuncles, the breast was covered with diamonds. On its back were many large jewels, fancifully arranged, while the tail, made to resemble a peacock's, was actually studded in the same manner. The whole was so formed, as to have the appearance of plumage, and so closely set, that the gold was hardly to be seen.

liberty, than he returned to his old mode of life. It is easy in some of the provinces of India to collect a marauding force : a solitary adventurer, without any visible means, but whose courage had been tried, may speedily muster around his banner a formidable force ; so that an individual whose powers of evil were despised, may burst upon and lay waste a whole country, at the head of a large body of horsemen. Thus Dhoondiah, though he had been defeated by Colonels Stevenson and Dalrymple, his followers almost cut to pieces, and stripped of his guns, baggage, and elephants, by a native prince, was yet able to break into Mysore, at the head of 5,000 horse.

Against the "King of the two Worlds,"—such was the title assumed by this unruly miscreant, Colonel Wellesley immediately advanced. Dhoondiah took refuge in the Mahratta territory, across the frontiers of which, the Company had enjoined their troops not to march. After some difficulty, arrangements having been concluded with the Peshwa, Colonel Wellesley crossed the Toombuddra, and carried Ranny Bednore by assault. On the 29th of October, feeling the necessity of speed, he pushed on with the cavalry alone. The subsequent movements may be partly described in his own words :—"I marched on the 30th to Hoogurgoor, where I learned that Dhoondiah was here with his baggage. I determined to move on, and attack him. I surprised his camp at 3 o'clock in the evening, with the cavalry ; and we drove into the river, or destroyed everybody that was in it, took an elephant, several camels, bullocks, horses innumerable, families, women and children. The guns were gone over, and we made an attempt to dismount them by a fire from this side ; but it was

dark, and saw plainly that we should not succeed. I therefore withdrew my guns into the camp. I have a plan for crossing some Europeans over the river, to destroy the guns, which I am afraid I cannot bring off; and then I think I shall have done this business completely. P. S. I have just returned from the river, and have got the guns, six in number. I made the Europeans swim over to seize a boat. The fort was evacuated; and we got the boat and guns." After various heavy and fatiguing marches, and a number of movements, which shewed the accomplished tactician, Colonel Wellesley rode in sight of Dhoondiah, on the 10th of September. The issue of the combat he has described in the following letter addressed to Sir Thomas Munro.

"Camp at Yepalperwy, 11th Sept. 1800.

"DEAR MUNRO,—I have the pleasure to inform you that I gained a complete victory yesterday, in the action with Dhoondiah's army, in which he was killed. His body was recognised, and was brought into the camp, on a gun attached to the 19th dragoons. After I had crossed the Malpooria it appeared to me to be very clear, that if I pressed upon the King of the two Worlds, with my whole force, on the northern side of the Dooab, his majesty would either cross the Toombuddra with the aid of the Patam chiefs, and would enter Mysore; or he would return into Savanore, and play the devil with my peaceable communications. I therefore determined, at all events, to prevent his majesty from putting those designs in execution; and I marched with my army to Kanagherry. I sent Stevenson towards Deedroog, and along the Kistna, to prevent him from sending his guns and baggage to his ally, the Rajah of Soorapoor; and I pushed forward the whole of the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry in one body, between Stevenson's corps and mine.

"I marched from Kanagherry on the 8th, left my infantry at Nowly, and proceeded on with the cavalry only: and I arrived here on the 9th, the infantry at Chinnoor, about 15 miles in my rear.

"The King of the World broke up on the 9th, from Malgherry, about 25 miles on this side of Raichore, and pro-

ceeded towards the Kestna. But he saw Colonel Stevenson's camp, returned immediately, and encamped on that evening about 9 miles from hence, between this place and Bunnoo. I had early intelligence of his situation; but the night was so bad, and my horses so much fatigued, that I could not move. After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning, and met the King of the World with his army, (about 5000 horse) at the village called Conahgull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night; he thought that I was at Chinnoor, and was marching to the westward with the intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry, and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position, as soon as he perceived me, and the victorious army stood for sometime with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th, (afterwards the 22d light dragoons) and the 1st and 2d regiments of cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of the elephants, camels, baggage, &c. which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock, and they have been employed ever since, in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the victorious army.

"Thus has ended this warfare; and I shall commence my march in a day or two, towards my own country. An honest killador of Chinnoor, had written to the King of the World by a regular tappale, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Nowly on the 8th, and at Chinnoor on the 9th. His majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer me than he expected. The honest killador did all he could to detain me at Chinnoor; but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop, and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the way, who manifested an inclination to lead me to a different place. My own and the Mahratta cavalry afterwards prevented any communication between his majesty, and the killador.

"The binjarrie must be filled, notwithstanding the conclusion of the war, as I imagine I must have one to carry on in Malabar.

"Believe me yours most sincerely,

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

The successful termination of the expedition against Dhoondiah, if not a service calculated to

add very much to Colonel Wellesley's military fame, was yet instrumental in displaying some of the peculiar features of his character; the same judicious arrangements for the supply of the army; ability, and promptitude in manœuvring, afterwards so conspicuous, were here strikingly manifested. The Governor General in council, expressed his high sense of his services. Tranquillity being now established, he had leisure to attend to the internal economy and political arrangements of the new English possessions in the Mysore. Such ability and deliberate sagacity were visible in his conduct, that the Governor General thought the high qualities displayed by one so young in the service, promised so much, as to justify his being intrusted, upon a suitable opening, with an independent command, in a wider and more important field.

An expedition had for a long time been proposed against Batavia, in which Colonel Wellesley was to have acted second in command to General Baird, and had therefore left his command at Mysore. Various circumstances, which it is needless to detail, caused these views to be abandoned; the force under Baird was despatched to Egypt; and Colonel Wellesley, who had at first been intended to proceed there also, (and had in fact been gazetted as brigadier-general) again resumed his command at Seringapatam. But a nobler conquest than any he had hitherto achieved in India, was soon to be before him. About this time, the Marquis Wellesley received a letter from the Duke of York, stating his high opinion of the Colonel's military conduct and abilities; and his intention of placing him upon the staff in the East Indies, as soon as his standing in the army admitted of his being raised to the rank of major-general. In spite

of these favourable intimations, however, it was his misfortune at this period to have his motives misconstrued and his plans mis-represented. It was most evident that the councils of the East Indian government were then disunited and wavering, and the following letter proves clearly, that he feared lest his present position might hurt his professional prospects ; it is interesting, because illustrative of his views and feelings, at this stage of his career :

TO THE HON. H. WELLESLEY,

"Bombay, March 23rd, 1801.

"MY DEAR HENRY.—I have received your note of the 3rd of March, but none of your other letters, which you say you have written to me. I hope that you received those which I wrote to you while you were in England, giving an account of how we were going on here. I enclosed them to the Doctor, and desired him to destroy those which should arrive subsequent to your departure, or your return to this country ; so that some of them written lately, you will probably never see. I was very anxious about you, as you must have come from the Cape in the track of the French privateers homeward bound ; and you were longer on your passage than we had reason to expect you would be.

"I have written a long letter to government this day about my departure from Ceylon, which I hope will explain every thing. Whether it does or not, *I shall always consider these expeditions as the most unfortunate circumstances for me, in every point of view, that could have occurred ; and as such I shall always lament them.*

"I was at the top of the tree in this country ; the government of Fort St. George and Bombay, which I had served, placed undiminished confidence in me, and I had received from both strong and repeated marks of their approbation. Before I quitted the Mysore country, I arranged the plan for taking possession of the ceded districts, which was done without striking a blow ; and another plan of conquering Wynod, and re-conquering Malabar ; which I am informed has succeeded without loss on our side. But this supercession has ruined all my prospects, founded upon any service that I may have rendered. Upon this point, I must refer you to the letters written to me, and to the governor of Fort St. George, in May last, when an expedition to Batavia was in

contemplation; and to those written to the governments of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Ceylon: and to the Admiral, Colonel Champagne, and myself, when the troops were assembled in Ceylon. I then ask you has there been any change whatever of circumstances, that was not expected when I was appointed to the command? If there has not, (and no one can say there has, without doing injustice to the Governor General's foresight), my supercession must have been occasioned, either by my own misconduct, or by an alteration of the sentiments of the Governor General. I have not been guilty of robbery or murder, and he has certainly changed his mind; but the world, which is always good-natured towards those whose affairs do not exactly prosper, will not, or rather does not fail to suspect that both, or worse, have been the occasion of my being banished, like General Kray, to my estate in Hungary. I did not look, and did not wish for the appointment which was given to me—and I say, that it would probably have been more proper to give it to somebody else; but when it was given to me, and a circular written to the governments on the subject, it would have been fair to allow me to hold it, till I did something to deserve to lose it.

"I put private considerations out of the question, as they ought, and have had no weight in causing either my original appointment, or my supercession. I am not quite satisfied with the manner in which I have been treated by government upon the occasion. However, I have neither lost my health, spirits, nor temper in consequence thereof.

"But it is useless to write any more upon a subject, of which I wish to retain no remembrance whatever.

"I enclose a memorandum upon the subject of Trincomalee, which will point out to you the inconveniences of that port as one of rendezvous or equipments: you will find it of use in the next expeditions.

"Remember also, that it is difficult for ships to get round Ceylon, in the south-west monsoon, after the middle of March.

"Yours most affectionately,  
(Signed) "ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"The Hon. Henry Wellesley."

About the end of March, 1801, Colonel Wellesley was attacked by a severe intermittent fever, accompanied by a violent eruption, which rendered it probable that he would require speedily to re-



move to a colder climate, and prevented him from proceeding to the Red Sea, as he had determined. Not satisfied with putting government in possession of his reasons for not doing so, he thus wrote to General Baird: "I need not," he says, "enter further into this subject, than to entreat that you will not attribute my stay to any other motive than that to which I have above assigned it, and to inform you, that as I know what has been said, and expected, by the world in general; I propose, as well for my own credit as for yours, to make known, to my friends and to yours, not only the distinguished manner in which you have behaved towards me, but the causes which have prevented my demonstrating my gratitude, by giving you every assistance in the arduous service which you have to conduct."

In May, therefore, he again returned to his old command. In the spring of 1802, he was promoted to the rank of major-general; in which capacity he was called to take the field against Holkar. Before, however, giving a brief sketch of the great Marhatta war, we shall extract from an able article in the Quarterly Review, the following condensed statements of the events which preceded it:

"Notwithstanding the alliance between the Marhattas and the British government, the former had carried on a secret correspondence with Tippoo, endeavoured to excite his family to oppose the settlements of Mysore after his death, and given unequivocal proof of their hostile purposes, by refusing that portion of his territories which was offered them. The Peshwah possessed at this time merely a nominal authority; his councils were entirely controlled by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, who, with inferior talents, and less discretion, had succeeded to

the power of his uncle Madhager Scindiah. The chieftian not only over-ruled his own sovereign, but was master also of the Mogul's person, holding thus in actual subjection, the descendants and representatives of Seevagee and of Aurengzebe. Even oriental history presents few tragedies so frightful as that of Shah Aalum, the last of the Moguls ! He had first protected and then promoted Gulam Kaudir Khan, whom his own sovereign had banished for his vices : the favoured servant of a weak prince easily becomes his master, and Shah Aalum soon found himself under a yoke which he could not shake off. Scindiah was marching against Delhi, and Gulam Kaudir offered to answer with his head for the result, if the Mogul would march out with his troops, and give them a supply of money. Shah Aalum objected that he had no money ; the Khan offered to advance a sufficient sum, saying, all he had to do was to head the army, the presence of a monarch being above half the battle. The Mogul agreed, but the next day a letter from him, desiring Scindiah to make all possible haste and destroy Gulam Kaudir, was intercepted by Gulam himself. However insufferable his conduct might have been, he was now fairly justified in measures of self-defence, and had he contented himself with simply putting the Mogul to death, he would have been liable to little censure for such an action. But this man had all the cruelty of the oriental character. He stormed Delhi, and entering the Mogul's chamber, knocked him down, knelt on his breast, and with his own hand pulled out one of his eyes. One of the Mogul's servants was made to pull out the other ; the palace was then given up to pillage, and this ruffian going into the Zehana, tore the jewels from the noses and ears of the Mogul's women, and

cut off their arms and legs. The most beautiful of the Mogul's daughters is said to have stabbed herself, to escape the violence which he offered. There is some satisfaction in recording the merited punishment of a wretch like this : being unable to resist Scindiah, he stuffed his saddle with precious stones, and fled towards Persia. On the second night he fell from his horse, and was taken by his pursuers : Scindiah put him in irons, and exposed him in a cage ; then ordered his ears, nose, hands, and feet to be cut off, and left him in that condition to expire !

" Shah Atalum was thus revenged, but his condition was in no respect ameliorated. The Mahrattas held him in the most abject subjection ; and when Scindiah left Delhi and its surrounding territory in possession of M. Perron, a French adventurer, who under his protection was forming an independent state ; the French, while they still used the name of the aged and blind monarch, treated his person with the most barbarous indignity. Upon this Frenchman Scindiah placed great reliance, expecting by his means to oppose the British forces with equal terms. M. de Boigne was the first person who formed a body of regular troops in Scindiah's service, and he admitted British as well as French officers indiscriminately ; but M. Perron, when he succeeded to the command, carefully excluded the former, that he might establish a military power exclusively commanded by his own countrymen. His force at this time amounted to about 16 or 17,000 regular and disciplined infantry, a well appointed and numerous train of artillery, a body of irregular troops, and from 15 to 20,000 horse, besides which he looked for reinforcements of cavalry from the petty chiefs who were his tributaries or allies. His revenues were about £1,700,000. A

Frenchman never loses sight of the interests of France—it is the best part of his national character. The French had been told, that England must receive her mortal wound in India, and M. Perron was in just such a situation, as Bonaparte would have selected, for striking the blow. His headquarters were established near Coel, in a commanding position on the frontier of the British possessions, and on the vulnerable part of our extensive Empire. Consistently with the safety of that empire, his power could not be suffered to exist ; but before that question could be brought into discussion, Scindiah provoked a war. A rival chief, by name Jeswunt Rao Holkar, disputed his authority over the Peshwah. The founder of Holkar's family was a man of low birth, and the orientalists, who embellish or disfigure every thing with fable, say, that in his boyhood when he was keeping sheep, and had fallen asleep in the sun, the deadliest of the Indian serpents crept from its hole and extended its hood over his head to shield him from the heat. The fable is worth repeating, because a more appropriate tutelary genius for an eastern conqueror could not be imagined.

“ Holkar began his career with considerable success ; the combined armies of the Peshwah and Scindiah marched against him ; but the Peshwah now conceived a hope of emancipating himself from the subjection in which he was held ; and when the approach of Holkar diminished his fear of Scindiah, he seized the opportunity of proposing an alliance to the British government. It was immediately ratified by the Governor General, and an agent was sent to Scindiah for the purpose of inviting him to accede to the alliance ; for it was thought that all parties would now find it advantageous to come to an agreement under the mediation of the British.

The Peshwah, in whom the proposals originated, would regain his authority ; by this means Scindiah would be secured against a rival whom he was little able to withstand ; and Holkar, who was at present a mere adventurer, depending upon rapine, might acquire a permanent establishment. But while the agent was on his way, the armies engaged in battle. Holkar was victorious, and the Peshwah, escaping to the Cokar, signified to the government at Bombay that it was his intention to take refuge in that presidency. Holkar meanwhile took possession of his capital, and placing another puppet on the throne, reigned there in his name. In this state of things both the governors of Madras and Bombay thought it necessary, without waiting for instructions from Bengal, to prepare their disposable force for immediate service. On the one hand, Holkar earnestly applied to the resident at Poonah to effect an accommodation with the Peshwah : Scindiah, or the others requested a continuance of the British friendship towards him and his dependent sovereign : and the Peshwah, being now at liberty to act for himself without controul from either, signed a treaty at Bassein, in consequence of which the British forces prepared to restore him to his capital. The nearest troops were those of the Madras presidency, assembled at Hurryghur, in the north-west frontier of Mysore, under Lieutenant General Stuart ; a detachment from this force was ordered to advance into the Mahratta territory : the command of this detachment required political judgment, not less than military skill. Lord Clive therefore thought it could not be better confided, with so much likelihood of advantage, to any person as to General Wellesley, because of his local knowledge, and his personal influence among the Mahrattas ; an influ-

ence acquired during his command at Mysore, and his military operations against Dhoondiah and other refractory chiefs. The detachment consisted of 9,700 men, including one regiment of European horse, and two of foot; and to these were added 2,500 Mysore cavalry, the resources of Mysore being now brought in aid of the British government, which, before Marquis Wellesley's administration, had been so often endangered by the restless hostility of that formidable power."\*

General Wellesley led his troops through the Mahratta territories. The way was long and tedious, the season of the year unfavourable, yet so well had he provided for the supply and conveyance of his soldiers, that they suffered neither loss nor distress. He maintained then, the same perfect discipline, in an enemy's country, as he afterwards did in France; plunder and excess were so strictly prohibited, that the natives regarded him as their protector and preserver. At Akloos he formed a junction with the Nizam's subsidiary force, under Colonel Stevenson; but upon learning that Holkar had left Poonah, he disposed Colonel Stevenson's force so, that a speedy junction might if necessary be formed with it, and when within sixty miles of the place, made a forced march with the British and Mahratta cavalry; performing the whole distance in 36 hours, the last forty miles by night, over a rugged and difficult country, he arrived there so speedily that Amrut Rao, Holkar's agent, had scarcely time for flight. Thus was the capital of the Mahratta country rescued from the hands of the enemy; the inhabitants protected from violence and rapine, again began to enter the town, and welcome cordially the English troops.

\* Quarterly Review, Vol. XIII.

A large force had been raised by Scindiah, for the apparent purpose of opposing Holkar. The British forces having relieved him from all fear of his rival's attack, he began to negotiate with him, and the Rajah of Berar, for the purpose of annoying the English government. He had prolonged the time by a series of negotiations and evasions ; he designed to avail himself of the aid of the French force under M. Perron : it was evident, therefore, that unless he met with a signal repulse, the way would be prepared for French ascendancy in the East. Vigorous measures were therefore planned, and a campaign, on a larger scale than had ever hitherto been attempted in India, was projected. " It comprehended almost the whole of Hindostan, from Calcutta and Madras on the eastern, to Bombay on the western side, and from Delhi, in the farthest north, to Poonah, Hyderabad, Guzerat and Orissa. The latter country was to be attacked from Gaugam and Calcutta, thereby striking an effectual blow upon the Rajah of Berar ; the government of Bombay would seize the sea-ports and territory belonging to Scindiah in Guzerat, on the Qude frontier. General Lake had to destroy the influence of the French, and rescue the blind Mogul from the barbarous indignity with which he was treated by these adventurers ; thus at once extending the power, and exalting the character of the British. In the Deccan, General Wellesley had to oppose the confederated force, under Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar ; to protect the Nizam, the Peshwah, and deliver the Company's possessions from danger. His position was so important, so great his influence among the Mahratta chiefs, and so great the confidence reposed in him, that he was invested with a distinct local authority, subject only

to the Governor General in Council, but possessing full power to conclude upon the spot, whatever arrangements might become necessary either for the final settlement of peace, or the active prosecution of war."<sup>a</sup>

On the 8th of August, General Wellesley broke up his encampment, and marched to Ahmed-nug-gur ; a town surrounded by lofty walls, without ramparts, flanked at the angles by towers ; behind the town was a fort, protected by a body of horse. A strong corps of Scindiah's infantry, with some Arab troops, composed the garrison. Almost at the moment General Wellesley came up, he ordered the assault to commence ; considerable resistance was made, but the wall was at length carried, with the loss of 118 killed and wounded ; which was principally caused by the Arabs, who kept up a destructive fire from the towers and in the streets. On the 10th, a battery was opened against the fort, the commander of which was speedily compelled to surrender. These operations opened the communication with Poonah, the capital of the district.

On the 29th, General Wellesley arrived at Aurungabad. No sooner were the enemy apprised of his arrival, than they menaced Hyderabad. On this occasion, they were disappointed by the able movements of the British, who moved eastward, along the left bank of the Godavery ; causing the enemy to proceed toward Jalna. Soon after this fort was carried by Colonel Stevenson ; who, a few days afterwards, defeated a detachment of the enemy, and caused a good deal of loss. Hitherto the two native chiefs, had proceeded solely with their cavalry, and their irregular infantry, armed only with matchlocks ; they were now reinforced by six-

\* Quarterly Review, Vol. XIII.



teen battalions of regular infantry, and a large artillery force, directed by French officers.

On the 21st September General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson met at Budnapoor, and held a conference there ; they arranged a general attack for the 24th. The General advanced by the eastern way, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jelna ; while Colonel Stevenson was despatched by the western. The two divisions of the army, having thus passed and occupied the defiles in one day, prevented the enemy escaping to the southward. Intelligence was received that the enemy were mustered in great force around Bokerdun ; accordingly General Wellesley, having ascertained the best route, resolved, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, to bring them to a general engagement. He arrived at Naulmiab on the 23rd, where he was apprised that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, were encamped about six miles distant. The General prepared for the attack. Before him lay the strong and combined army of the two potentates, drawn up on the banks of the river Kaitna. The right wing, composed of cavalry, was near Bokerdun, and was drawn out to meet the infantry ; which were encamped in the neighbourhood of Assaye. General Wellesley determined to attack the left wing of the enemy, where the guns and infantry were posted ; rightly judging, that a successful attack upon the strong point of the enemy, would be decisive. He passed the Kaitna, at a fort beyond their left flank, and formed his infantry in two lines ; leaving the cavalry as a reserve in the third, and keeping in check a large body of the enemy's horse, by means of the Mysore cavalry. The enemy, anticipating his intentions, altering the position of their infantry and guns, brought them to

bear upon their assailants with terrible effect. At the distance of 400 yards, the British artillery opened, but with little success ; some of the guns were silenced, the gunners and cattle falling fast beside them. On this the General ordered them to be abandoned, and the whole line to advance ; Colonel Maxwell, with the horse, was ordered to protect the right ; they routed with great slaughter and drove into the Juah, a body of Mahratta cavalry, by whom they were charged. The vigorous measures of the General were crowned with success ; the enemy, dismayed, began to give way ; they were driven from their artillery ; the British, pressing rapidly on in pursuit, left behind them the guns they had so bravely won. Still, their numbers were so few, that they could not at once secure the advantages they had gained ; and, in the heat and ardour of victory, forgot the practice common among the native warriors, of feigning death, in the hope of escaping it. No sooner did the victorious British pass, than starting up, they turned the guns against them. The fugitives, seeing this, rallied ; and the combat had to be fought anew. At this critical juncture, Colonel Maxwell, in charging gallantly a large body of the enemy's infantry that had been formed, was killed ; and the enemy's fire became so galling, that General Wellesley, at the head of the 78th regiment, and a corps of native cavalry attacked the artillery, from which his troops had already suffered so much damage ; his horse, struck by a cannon shot, which carried away its leg, fell under him. Still the conflict was not decided ; large bodies of the enemy's horse hovered on the skirts of the field ; as they threatened an attack, the General ordered the British dragoons to charge, and they were at length driven from the plain.

The loss of the conquerors was severe, a third of the army was killed or disabled ; of the enemy 1200 lay dead upon the field, and countless numbers of the wounded were scattered over the neighbourhood. The results were such as to repay the loss and labour of this hard fought battle. The defeat of these two great chiefs, struck a final blow at their military reputation ; their strength and resources were broken ; their artillery, in which consisted their most formidable means of attack, lost ; no fewer than 102 heavy guns having been captured ; while stores, ammunition, camp equipage, bullocks and camels, were also left upon the field. "Never," says Dr. Southey, "was a victory gained under so many disadvantages. Superior arms and discipline have often prevailed against as great a numerical difference ; but it would be describing the least part of this day's glory, to say, that the number of the enemy was as ten to one : they had disciplined troops in the field under European officers, who more than doubled the British force ; they had a hundred pieces of cannon, which were served with perfect skill ; and which the British without the aid of artillery, twice won with the bayonet. It produced proposals from the enemy : one of Scindiah's ministers wrote to request that General Wellesley would send an officer to his master's camp, for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace. England has never, in her Indian wars, been fooled by treaties, out of what she has gained by the sword. The General, having none to control him, was led to pursue the straight-forward policy of an active spirit and a commanding mind. He refused to treat upon these propositions ; because, as the request was not made directly upon the authority of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar,

they might afterwards disavow the act of their minister ; and because it would appear if a British officer was sent to the enemy's camp, that the British were soliciting peace, instead of granting it to a beaten enemy. He declared himself, however, ready to receive with all respect, in the British camp, any person duly authorized to propose terms. It soon became obvious, that the Mahrattas were temporizing, and he lost no time in prosecuting his success."\*

During the whole course of this campaign, General Wellealey showed, not only great military prudence and ability, but also diplomatic skill, of no mean order ; as we might illustrate copiously, by many extracts from his dispatches, did our limits permit. He was equally indefatigable in attention to the comforts of his officers and of the army, and his kindness and liberality were distinguished. Of this, we cannot refrain from noticing an instance, attested by an eye-witness :†

"He sent into every camp-hospital, a dozen of Madaira, from his own stock ; and that wine is neither cheap nor plentiful here ; to-day he was in amongst them before the camp was pitched, making enquiries, which are as honourable to his feelings, as they are agreeable and gratifying to the poor invalids. The men have every comfort that can be afforded in the camp, or procured here, which I fear are not very numerous ; indeed, the refugees from the adjoining parts, and Scindiah's wounded men, are dying here every day."

The war was now drawing to a close, many of the strong places had fallen ; Scindiah's infantry was nearly destroyed, and great numbers of his

\* Quarterly Review, Vol. XIII.

† Major-General Sir J. Nichols.

cavalry deserting him. General Wellesley was in full pursuit of the Rajah of Berar, who had meditated a predatory excursion to the southward. So terrified now was he at the valour of his opponent, that he moved his camp five times without making any stand ; and was repulsed in an attack on a British convoy, though his numerical superiority was in the ratio of five to one. He was so hotly pursued that he had no opportunity of committing any ravages, except in the smaller villages. Formerly, a native army made such depredations that it could not pass twice over the same ground ; a remarkable contrast was now afforded to the inhabitants in General Wellesley's progress, for though the army, including camp-followers, (who are ever prone to plunder) amounting to 40,000 men, had marched three times over the same road, and encamped at one place for four days, not one village had been pillaged or injured, scarcely indeed entered by any, but some of those officially connected with the public departments ; the stacks of grain were untouched, not the slightest quantity being removed, except at a fair price. Systematic arrangements were made to secure this. From twenty to forty orderly men marched in front and on the flanks ; at every place which the army passed, several of these were placed at the gates of the town until the whole corps with its train of attendants had gone through. The same protection was also extended to the villages ; the natives derived so much confidence in the British, from this generous treatment, that relying on the General's protection, they treated with great respect any officer who afterwards took the same route.

General Wellesley, with unremitting assiduity, pressed on to terminate the campaign. The Ra-

jah was endeavouring to retreat to his own country ; the British descended the mountains by the Rajoorate pass, in order to strengthen Colonel Stevenson in the siege of Gawilghur. On the 28th, he came up with a large body of Scindiah's cavalry, supported by the greater number of the Berar infantry. At Parterly he was joined by Colonel Stevenson : as the troops were fatigued, and the day excessively sultry, he had intended to make a brief halt there ; but the enemy afforded him a favourable opportunity of coming to an engagement with them. Strong bodies of cavalry appeared in front, and began to skirmish with the Mysore horse. To repel this attack, the infantry pickets were sent forward ; General Wellesley advanced to reconnoitre, and perceived the confederate army drawn up along the plains of Argaum, in one unbroken line, five miles in length ; composed of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. Having formed his troops in a compact column, he moved down upon the enemy ; he then formed two lines of attack, the first of infantry, the second of cavalry, the rear and left being supported by the Mogul and Mysore cavalry. The British line began to move slowly and steadily, when a body of Berar's Persian mercenaries made a furious attack at close quarters upon the 74th and 75th regiments ; they suffered a total repulse. Scindiah's cavalry now fiercely attacked a battalion of native infantry ; but being routed with great loss, fled in confusion. The British line pressed steadily onward, when the enemy gave way in all directions, leaving thirty-eight pieces of artillery on the field. The cavalry continued the pursuit by moonlight, cut down great numbers, capturing many elephants loaded with baggage. General Wellesley thought, that with one hour's longer light, the whole force

of the enemy would have been destroyed ; and in that he would have succeeded, but for some of his native troops having been thrown into confusion at the commencement of the cannonade. "What do you think," he says in a letter to Major Shaw, "of nearly three entire battalions, who behaved so admirably at the battle of Assaye, being broke, and running off when the cannonade commenced at Argaum, which was not to be compared to that at Assaye ? Luckily, I happened to be at no great distance from them, and was able to rally the flying troops, and re-establish the battle. If I had not been there, I am convinced that we should have lost the day.—The troops were under arms, and I was on horseback, from six in the morning, until twelve at night.—Nothing could be more fortunate than my return to the northward.—I just arrived in time. Colonel Stevenson was not delayed for me more than one day ; it is a curious circumstance, that after having been so long separated, and such a distance between us, we should have joined at a moment so critical. The Rajah is much alarmed for Gawilghur, and I think he is sincere, indeed, I think Scindiah is so likewise. But every Mahratta chief is so haughty, and so prone to delay, that I suspect both these will be ruined rather than submit to the conditions I must require from them."\* Throughout the whole of this campaign, the commander's dispatches show the greatest anxiety and zeal for the right performance of his laborious and trying duties ; which deserved and obtained the full confidence of the government. Not less manifest also is the unassuming and modest manner in which he speaks of himself ; and, apparently, (on occasions) distrustfulness of his own

\* Duke of Wellington's Dispatches.

plans ; which testify, that as yet, he scarcely estimated his abilities at their due value. Both these qualities, we need scarcely observe, so far from being inconsistent with, are the general concomitants of a great and masterly mind. The following extract from a letter addressed to the Bombay Government, is but a sample of many that might be quoted. He observes, "that in conducting the extensive duties with which he was charged, it had been his constant wish to conform to the existing rules and establishments, and to introduce no innovations ; so that at the conclusion of the war, when his duties would cease, every thing might go on in its accustomed channel. For this reason, and for others not necessary at present to mention, I have sent no commands to Colonel Murray, excepting two orders applicable to the general state of affairs, which have lately gone to him, but which were first submitted to the Governor for his approbation. I do not comprehend, and cannot say that I admire, the system—according to which the connection with the Guickwar Government is carried on ; but this possibly proceeds from ignorance of the subject. At all events, I know that I am not able to suggest any measure that could remedy it ; and if I were to interfere at all, I might order a measure which would be inconsistent with the existing system. I am therefore very desirous not to be called upon to take a more active part than I have hitherto ; and that matters should be conducted as usual, under the immediate orders of Government. Whenever the Honourable the Governor in Council may think proper to call for my opinion upon any subject, I will give it him to the best of my judgment and abilities ; and I will do so, whenever I think it ne-



cessary, in all matters which have relation to our general situation.”\*

Gawilghur, a strongly fortified place built on a height defended by lofty walls, ramparts, and towers, was now about to fall. A breach had been opened by the batteries, and the troops were ordered to the assault. “After carrying the north-west gate in the most gallant manner, the wall of the inner fort was escaladed; the gate was opened for the storming party, and the place immediately surrendered. The resistance, however, had been great, and vast numbers of the enemy fell at the different gates.” The war was concluded, in consequence of the fall of this fortress; the Rajah of Berar being forced to send an ambassador to demand terms of peace in good earnest. These negotiations were concluded on the 17th of December; on the 30th another treaty was formed with Scindiah; both on terms highly favourable to the English interests in India. On the 9th of January, 1804, the Governor General wrote privately to his brother, congratulating him on the brilliant issue of his negotiations. “Your treaty,” said he, “is wise, honourable, and glorious, and I shall ratify it the instant a copy can be made. The only article upon which I can wish any alteration, is that respecting the admission of Europeans into the service of the Rajah. It would be more complete to exclude them altogether, in peace and war, unless with the consent of the British government. But this is not an object to be placed in competition with the great advantages of this admirable treaty; the stipulations which will confer advantages to the Nizam are highly politic, and afford a splendid proof of the British faith. Upon the whole I feel the greatest pride in the

\* Duke of Wellington's Dispatches.

treaty, and I am satisfied that it will form a brilliant point in the history of this country, and a noble termination of your military glory."

So much business, consequent on these negotiations, devolved on General Wellesley, that he did not reach Bombay till the month of April. It was observed during this period, that he was most anxious to promote the interests and advancement of those officers who had served with him; many of whom afterwards rose to distinction under his fostering care. The General himself was received with the honours due to his distinguished merits. Congratulations and addresses both upon his military and political success, from official personages and public bodies, flowed in upon him; in his replies to which, with the modesty of a noble mind, he ascribed his success chiefly to the discipline and valour of his officers and soldiers, and the effective co-operation of the civil government. A monument in memory of the battle of Assaye, was erected at Calcutta; the inhabitants of that city presented him with a sword; his own officers with a golden vase: while at home the thanks of Parliament were voted him, and he was created a Knight Companion of the Bath. But perhaps the proudest and most affecting distinction of all, was the parting address of the inhabitants of Seringapatam. "They had reposed," they said, "for five years under the shadow of his protection: they had felt during his absence in the midst of battles and victory, that his care for their welfare had been extended to them as amply as if no other object had occupied his mind; they were preparing in their several castes, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifices to the preserving God who had brought him back in safety, and they implored the God of all castes, and of all nations,

to hear their constant prayers, wherever greater affairs should call him from them, for his health, his glory, and his happiness."

The following summary of the results of the campaign, was given by the Marquis Wellesley, in a government address. "From the 8th of August, the day on which hostilities commenced, until the 1st of November, a period short of three months, the British army had conquered all the possessions of Scindiah in Guzerat, the city of Burhampoor, the province of Culluck, the cities of Agra and Delhi ; the fortified town of Ahmednugger and the fort of Gawilghur had been taken by storm, and five others reduced by capitulation. The enemy had been defeated in general engagements at Delhi, Assaye, and Laswarrah ; they had taken 268 pieces of ordnance, 5,000 stand of arms, 215 tumbrels, and 51 stand of colours, with a large quantity of stores, baggage, camp equipage, and ammunition, in the field ; whilst the captures in the various forts amounted to 445 pieces of ordnance, making the total number 713."

The rapid progress and happy result of these successful operations had restored the Peashwah to his sovereign authority at Poonah, and cemented the British alliance with that prince ; had secured the succession of the legitimate heir of the Nizam, protected the British interests at Hyderabad from injury, had confirmed the treaties by which the French were expelled from the Deccan ; and finally, had delivered the aged and unfortunate Emperor of Hindostan (the descendant of a long line of Moguls) from misery and bondage. Nor were the results of this campaign less important in a political point of view ; the superiority of British discipline and valour, conducted by skilful leaders,

over immense armies chiefly organized according to European tactics, had been fully demonstrated a just dread of its invincible character had repressed the reckless ambition and rapacity of the native princes and chieftains, whose predatory wars had laid waste the fairest provinces of India. A general confidence was established, both at home and abroad, in the vigour of our arms, and the extent of our military resources; while the advantages so rapidly and brilliantly obtained were likely to prove permanent from the happy experience, and the consequent just and general opinion entertained by the natives themselves, of the integrity and mildness of British sway.

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### CHAPTER III.

Sir Arthur Wellesley's return to England—Elected a member of the House of Commons—Marriage—Chief Secretary for Ireland—Danish Expedition—Affair at Kluge—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Negotiations.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY returned to England in 1805. His success in India sufficiently proved that he was well fitted to serve his country with honour and profit; in November, therefore, he was appointed to command a brigade in the army of Lord Cathcart, and sailed with it for Hanover. But the battle of Austerlitz rendered it prudent to recall the expedition without any advantage having been gained. On his return, Sir Arthur was appointed to the command of a home district; and upon the death of Marquis Cornwallis, was made Colonel of the 33rd Regiment, in which he had served for

thirteen years as Lieutenant Colonel. In 1806, he became a member of the House of Commons, having been elected representative for Newport, in the Isle of Wight. In the same year, he married the Hon. Catherine Pakenham, sister to the Earl of Longford.

The experience he had acquired by military and civil transactions in India, enabled him to tender beneficial advice to the Government, respecting the affairs of that country. He demonstrated the evil and dangerous consequences of the ministerial project, for transferring negro troops from the West to the East Indies, and replacing them by seapoys ; so as to dispense with the aid of British soldiers. He showed that the plan was not only impracticable, but unjust ; and in doing so, he took care to give due praise to the high character of the English, as well as of the native troops. He likewise took part with much earnestness and good feeling, in the discussions arising from certain motions made by the opposition, respecting his brother's conduct in the Indian government ; and his disposal of its revenues. Even while as yet unpractised in parliamentary proceedings, his speeches displayed that direct and clear reasoning, and enumeration of dates and facts, which have since been so signally manifested.

In April, 1807, he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and a Privy Councillor under the Duke of Richmond. One of the chief measures introduced by him in the former capacity, was the establishment of a police in the city of Dublin ; which though violently opposed, was at length carried ; and has since proved an important benefit. Several other arrangements of a civil and municipal nature, were likewise adopted at his suggestion.

But his exertions in the military service of his country, were now to be claimed anew. The restless ambition of Napoleon, incessantly directed against the commerce and prosperity of Britain, was bent upon the creation of a power that might rival her upon the seas. In furtherance of his object,—by the establishment of a continental system to place England in a state of blockade, by all the European powers,—he had resolved to close the Baltic ports against our ships. He seems to have formed the design of seizing the Danish fleet, probably to make it the basis of a future navy; with which, not only to blockade the ports, but also to be used in the invasion of England. It appeared necessary, therefore, that this formidable weapon of mischief should be taken out of his hands. Yet the measure was harsh, and in ordinary seasons could not justly have been effected. Denmark was then at peace with England, and remained so, till the fatal expedition was seen before her capital; the only pleas that could be used for this invasion of the Danes, were, political necessities, and self-preservation. “The condition of England,” says Sir Walter Scott, “was that of an individual, who, threatened by the approach of a superior force of mortal enemies, sees close beside him, and with arms in his hands, one, of whom he had a right to be suspicious, as having co-operated against him on two former occasions; and who, he has reason to believe, is at the very moment engaged in a similar alliance to his prejudice. The individual, in the case supposed, would certainly be warranted in requiring to know this third party’s intention; nay, in disarming him, if he had strength to do so; and detaining his weapons, as the best pledge of his neutrality.” On the other hand, the terms pro-

posed, were so humiliating, that no high-spirited sovereign could be expected to submit to them without a struggle. It was in effect to say, "Surrender your ships to us, for you know you cannot defend them against Napoleon, who will use them to our damage ; therefore intrust them to us, and we will hold them in pledge, until a general peace, when we will restore them to you. If you do not give them up peaceably, we will seize them by force." Tame indeed must have been the spirit, that would have yielded passively to this ; and it was only when his capital was in flames, and the cries of his subjects rose on high, that the Crown Prince did succumb to it ; and give up a contest which prudence and reflection must have shewn, could only be ended by the discomfiture of the weaker party.

The armament, consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, got ready in secrecy, was wisely planned upon a large scale. The troops amounting to 20,000 men, were commanded by Lord Cathcart. Sir Arthur Wellesley was at the head of the reserve. The fleet was under Admiral Gambier ; one division sailed by the Great Belt, in order to blockade Zealand ; the other with the army on board, having arrived in the Sound, prepared for active operations.

In the only combat of any importance, which took place near Kiøge, Sir Arthur Wellesley commanded. He attacked a body of Danish troops, which contested the position ; pursued them to a strong entrenchment in their rear ; again driving them from this by assault, he forced into the town, and routed them with considerable loss. This action accelerated the conclusion of the campaign, by depriving the Governor of Copenhagen of all hopes of assistance from the army.

Although the subject of this memoir was not present during the bombardment of Copenhagen, we cannot refrain from alluding to the gallantry of the Danes, displayed in the defence of their capital. With the army all classes and ranks, the citizens, the students, and the peasantry, united in its defence. Various vigorous, though unsuccessful sorties were made ; for what could these brave, though raw defenders, do against experienced generals and veteran battalions ? On the 2nd September the land batteries, with the bomb and mortar vessels, opened their tremendous fire ; which soon appeared to be followed by a general conflagration of the town. The Danish ramparts, citadel, and crown batteries, replied to this, but their fire speedily slackened. Many of the public edifices were in ruins, and life and property fearfully destroyed ; yet it was not till the 7th, that the unavailing struggle terminated : the Crown Prince could now, without disgrace give up his fleet.

As soon as the Danes showed a disposition to treat, Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent, along with Sir Home Popham and Colonel Murray, to fix the terms of the capitulation. Sir Arthur displayed the same promptitude in diplomacy, as in war ; the terms were discussed, settled, and signed, in one night ; all the demands of our government agreed to ; and the gates of the citadel, capital, and dock-yards, were given up to the British.

On his return to England, Major-General Wellesley, having resumed his seat in the House of Commons, was addressed by the Speaker, who returned the thanks of the country to himself, and his brave coadjutors, in the following terms :—" I should be wanting in the full expression of those sentiments which animate this House, and the whole



country,\* if I forbore to notice, that we are on this day crowning with our thanks, one gallant officer well known to the gratitude of this House, who has long trodden the paths of glory ; whose genius and valour have already extended our fame and empire ; whose sword has been the terror of our distant enemies ; and will not now be drawn in vain to defend the seat of empire itself, and the throne of his King. I am, Sir Arthur Wellesley, charged to deliver the thanks of this House to you, and I accordingly thank you in the name of the Commons of the United Kingdom, for your zeal, intrepidity, and exertion, displayed in the various operations necessary for conducting the siege, and effecting the surrender of the navy and arsenal of Copenhagen." Sir Arthur's reply to this high eulogium, was highly characteristic, "The honour which this House has conferred on myself and my friends, is justly considered by the officers of the navy and army, as the highest this country can offer ; it is the object and ambition of all who are employed in his Majesty's service ; and to obtain it, has doubtless been the motive of many of those acts of valour and good conduct, which have tended so eminently to the glory, and have advanced the prosperity and advantage of this country."

Having resumed his duties as secretary for Ireland, Sir Arthur Wellesley frequently took part in the deliberations of the House, concerning Irish questions. His plans were distinguished by their practical tendency ; his views, unalloyed by violent partizanship, were moderate and conciliatory ; while therefore he was highly esteemed by his friends, he never lost the respect of his opponents. There can be no doubt that his continuance in office would

\* Scott's Life of Napoleon.

have produced much substantial good to his native country ; but a new scene of action was now opening before him ; the laurels he had acquired on the plains of India, were to be thrown into the shade by the glorious conquests of his Peninsular campaigns ; he was to lead the British troops from one victory to another, to be cheered by the shouts, and rewarded by the enthusiastic thanksgivings of a liberated people.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

Introductory remarks—Conquests of Napoleon—Affairs of Spain—Charles IV.—Godoy—Ferdinand—Napoleon's designs—Treaty of Fontainebleau—Departure of Portuguese Royal Family—Junot enters Lisbon—Intrigues at the Spanish court—King's Abdication—Ferdinand goes to Bayonne—Insurrection at Madrid—Vengeance of the French—Origin of the Peninsular War—Spaniards desire aid from England.

THE commencement of the French Revolution had been hailed with delight by many of the noblest and most generous spirits of the human race : they saw in it only the dawning of a bright and auspicious morning upon the universe, and knew not the sanguinary and fearful excesses in which that morning of promise was to close. The abuses of the French monarchy had been unquestionably very great ; oppressive exactions and political servitude ground down the great body of the people ; a numerous, haughty, and frivolous aristocracy, many of them destitute of legitimate claims to respect, of unbounded profligacy and worthlessness, stood aloof from the people, and refused the slightest redress of their

grievances ; other causes which we cannot particularize, had also been working for a long series of years. When the people then succeeded in obtaining their legitimate rights, it seems as though fresh vigour had been infused into an ancient kingdom, and a noble example of the blessings of freedom given to the world. Had the constitutional party in France taken their stand on the broad grounds of principle, and trusted to their own resources (they were at first the decided majority of the houses of legislature) without courting the support of the republican faction, the coming danger might have been at least delayed. Had the King been as firm, as he was well-disposed to his subjects, and had the nobles and great proprietors been true to him, the monarchy might have been saved. The royalist party, divided and distracted, now making indiscreet demonstrations of hostility, and again granting sweeping and large concessions, when they could be no longer serviceable to themselves, but only fed the flame of revolutionary ardour, seemed by their folly, desirous of giving a practical proof that the theories of their republican opponents were well founded. Above all, it was suspected that Louis and his supporters meant to deceive the people, and every suspicion of such unworthy expedients, during periods of popular excitement, is attended with the most disastrous consequences. The republican party obtained in effect the dictatorship of France ; and what seemed the fair horizon of that ill-fated country, was soon overcast with clouds of darkness. One extreme was succeeded by another, the great institutions of the land were overturned, and Europe saw with horror and surprise, the church and nobility abolished, the King dethroned and decapitated, the most furious and restless republicans

possessing the supreme sway, and ruling by the guillotine and the sword, reason deified, and a Republic proclaimed. What history proves to be the end of such a headlong career of national change followed in its course ; and after France had been drenched with blood, its trembling people were glad to seek shelter under the military despotism of Bonaparte.

This astonishing man had been the favourite of fortune. After having ascended by the commanding force of his genius to the throne, it appeared as if his lofty elevation had deprived him of much of that forethought and comprehensive wisdom to which he owed his supremacy. The man who had risen from the people, perished by endeavouring to rule them like a legitimate monarch ; the successor of republican chiefs strove to imitate the brilliance of the old regime. Grasping and insatiable ambition led him, like another Alexander, to attempt the conquest of the world. The peace of Tilsit had left him almost sole master of the continent, the greater part of it he actually possessed, the rest was under his controul. No German Emperor had before acquired such dominion over the principalities of that country as Napoleon. The mountaineers of Switzerland, forgetting Morat and Morgarten, submitted to his protection, received his edicts, and recruited his armies. Occupying the triple throne of France, Flanders, and Italy, he had placed one brother on that of Naples, "made a second King of Holland, and erected a kingdom in Germany for a third, with territories taken indiscriminately from his foes and friends. His sister's husband Murat possessed a principality with the title of Grand Duke of Berg ; Eugene Beauharnois, his wife's son, was married into the house of Bavaria, and ruled

Italy as his viceroy ; his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, would upon the next vacancy be placed at the head of the Roman Catholic Church. Like the hero of a Spanish romance of chivalry, he portioned out kingdoms, principalities, and dukedoms, from his conquests, among his companions in arms, and we read of Dukes of Dalmatia, Regusa, and Dantzic, among the new nobility of France.”\* His reputation, political, and military, was at its height ; he had done more than Louis XIV. had attempted, he had a wider sphere of authority than Charlemagne. His fortunes had reached their zenith, and, as a most sagacious politician† told him, each farther advance must be in reality a step in decline. In his pride and madness, he disregarded the warning ; the disastrous invasions of Spain and Russia shewed its truth. Napoleon himself, in his early days, would have at once seen that his true policy and only chance of safety, lay in defending and strengthening what he had already gained, and that he weakened himself in proportion as he drew out his lines. Disregarding this, he resolved to have the whole of Europe at his feet, and threw down the gauntlet of defiance to the world ; and only awoke from his dreams when he found himself a solitary, dethroned, and discomfited exile. Like a mad gambler, unsatisfied by cautious and successful winnings, he staked his all upon the cast, fame, wealth, empire : he lost, and was left to lament his folly on the rock of St. Helena.

Ever since the Spanish Bourbons had ascended the throne, an unbroken alliance had subsisted between France and Spain ; and the latter as the weaker country, had acted in submission to the former. After the downfall of the royal family in

\* Quarterly Review.

† Talleyrand.

France, Spain had remained neutral ; Bonaparte found the weak Charles IV. a convenient instrument, his will was regarded as law. The Spanish government at this time was thoroughly corrupted : the profligacy of the court had been equalled at no former period ; the poison overspread the whole body politic, pervading every branch of the legislature. Yet still the mass of the people retained their old national character and spirit, in spite of bad government, and demoralising superstition. Spain before the French revolution, remained at heart unchanged. Improvement seemed slowly stealing on ; agriculture and commerce extended ; the arts, sciences, and literature cultivated ; the Inquisition if still as vigilant as before, had abated in cruelty. But the unsuccessful war which Spain had waged with the French Republic, exposed the weakness of her resources, and the imbecility of her councils ; it was ended by a dishonourable peace, for the conclusion of which the worthless Godoy attained the title of prince :—hostility with England, so dreaded by the Spaniard, of course followed.\*

Their commerce almost ceased, their navy was destroyed, the finances were grievously embarrassed ; public credit at an end, and her supplies of foreign treasure extorted by the French. "The burden of such an alliance," says Dr. Southey, "became at length too galling and too heavy to be endured ; and even Charles IV. and Godoy, the weakest of monarchs, and the basest of favourites, began to devise means for ridding themselves of the yoke. This disposition they made known to Prussia, when that power was preparing for its first

\* "Peace with England, and war with all the world," is a Spanish proverb.

struggle with Bonaparte. No sooner was the Prussian war declared, than Godoy issued a proclamation calling upon the people not to be dismayed at their situation, for they possessed great resources, and their government was about to make a powerful armament. This act of policy gave rise to a strong remonstrance from the French ambassador ; the battle of Jena terrified Charles, and Bonaparte, who discovered at Berlin their correspondence with the Prussian court, seemed to content himself with having thus expressed his displeasure. Had he marched an army into Spain for the avowed purpose of dethroning the Bourbons upon this quarrel, he would certainly not have provoked the same kind of opposition, as that upon which he afterwards wrecked his power and reputation. His conduct then would have been in the allowed course of open authorized war. It would neither have insulted the understanding of the Spaniards, nor outraged their moral sense ; he would have encountered a regular military resistance, from a weak, disorderly, and disorganized army, not that moral resistance which is invincible ; he would have contended with the carcass of a rotten government, and not the spirit and soul of a nation."

Napoleon, however, did not adopt this direct course ; he preferred the devious path of treaty and intrigue, to attain his favourite object ; the placing one of his brothers on the Spanish throne. Never was an imbecile court so dexterously defeated by wily policy. Godoy had formed an offensive and defensive league with the Directory ; in virtue of which, calling upon Spain for her contingent of troops, Napoleon succeeded in draughting from the country, and conveying to Denmark, the flower of the Spanish army, commanded by the Marquis de

Romana. He next entered into a secret treaty with Charles, concerning the partition of Portugal; the third of which was promised to Godoy, as a principality; another, for the Queen of Etruria; while the city of Lisbon, and the remaining portion, was to be ceded to France. He also demanded from the House of Braganza the adoption of the entire continental system, including the total renunciation of British alliance; the confiscation of property, and the imprisonment of English residents. The Prince of the Brazils, conscious of his defenceless state, gave up every thing but honour and conscience; he warned the English to depart with their property, and then prepared to bow to the tyrant's decrees. But the secret treaty of Fontainebleau having transpired, he threw himself on the protection of the British fleet; the Portuguese navy was got ready; the King and Royal family, with the court, and vast numbers of attendants, of every age and rank, prepared to embark for South America, at Belem, "the very spot whence Gama had embarked for the discovery of India, and Cobral for that of Brazil." Slowly and amid tears, the melancholy procession moved to the water's edge: the princes and princesses, pale and weeping, passed through a mournful and silent crowd. "Uncovered and weeping, the people beheld in speechless sorrow, the departure of their ancient rulers. They saw the descendants of a long line of kings forced to seek, in mournful exile, an asylum from the hand of the spoiler. It was some consolation to the crowd, who watched with aching eyes the receding sails, to see the Royal fleet, as it passed through the British squadron, received with a salute from all the vessels, suitable to the rank of the unfortunate family: emblematic of the protection which



Great Britain now extended to her ancient ally, and an earnest of that heroic support, which, through all the desperate conflict that followed, England was destined to afford her courageous inhabitants. Never had a city been penetrated with a more unanimous feeling of grief; the Royal Family, kind and warm-hearted, had long enjoyed the affections of the people; the bitterness of conquest was felt, without its excitement. In mournful silence the people lingered on the quay from whence the illustrious party had taken their departure; and each, in returning to his home, felt as if he had lost a parent, or a child."\*

Scarcely had the Royal squadron cleared the bar, when Junot's advanced guard, 1600 foot, and a few horsemen, arrived at the towers of Lisbon; just in time to see the Portuguese fleet in the distance. The French soldiers were so exhausted by forced marches, and the ruggedness of the way, that many of them dropped down in the streets from famine and fatigue. Yet Lisbon was tamely surrendered to this band of wretched conscripts, whose main body was scattered in confusion over mountain paths 200 miles in length! Junot occupied the palace; and in spite of a slight tumult, took down the arms of Portugal, placing in their stead those of the Emperor. He treated the people as conquered subjects, and imposed a contribution equal to a poll-tax of a guinea and a half upon the whole population. The treaties of Fontainebleau, having served the purpose of amusing and deceiving the Spaniards, were neglected and cast aside. In the course of time, Portugal was occupied by 28,000 French, and 27,000 Spanish troops; while a reserve army of 40,000 men, was stationed at

\* Alison's History of Europe, Vol. VI.

Bayonne. The decree was indeed gone forth, "That the house of Braganza had ceased to reign."

Napoleon ordered the reserve at Bayonne to march into Spain. It advanced in two divisions, under Moncey and Dupont ; while a third corps, under Duhesme, crossing the Pyrenees, occupied Barcelona, Pampeluna, and San Sebastian ; so that Napoleon was already in possession of the whole country that commanded the main roads from France to Madrid. The fortresses which by a succession of artifices had fallen into the hands of the French, were strengthened, and stored with provisions.

Meanwhile the Spanish court, torn to pieces by party intrigues, unresistingly beheld the country overrun by French armies. Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, engaged in plots against the authority of his father, was desirous of entering into a matrimonial connexion with the Emperor ; while Charles and Godoy solicited Napoleon's aid to punish the treason of the son. As both parties were being amused by negotiations, Bonaparte was silently preparing for his intended conquest, and mustering his strength to overcome any rising of the Spaniards. When the news of the occupation of Lisbon reached them, the court, struck with consternation, resolved to sail for America, and with this view intended to set out for Seville. Against this intention, the populace arose with indignation ; they surrounded the palace at Aranjuez, where the court then was, and with loud threats of vengeance, demanded an explicit assurance that the Royal family would remain. The riot spread to Madrid, where the mob attacked and plundered the house of Godoy ; who with difficulty escaped being torn to pieces, by flying to a garret, and hiding himself be-

neath a heap of mats. After thirty-six hours had elapsed, thirst compelled him to quit his retreat ; he was discovered, and only rescued from death by some guards who collected around him, and who, at the risk of their own lives, dragged him, covered with bruises, and nearly senseless with terror, to the meanest prison, amid the shouts and curses of the populace.

Charles, terrified by these violent scenes, abdicated the throne ; and Ferdinand was proclaimed King at Madrid, amid the rejoicings of the multitude. Ferdinand's authority was soon at an end. Murat, at the head of the French troops, speedily drew near ; having disposed 30,000 men around the city, he entered it with 10,000, on the 23rd March. There he received a communication from Charles, in the shape of a protest against his own abdication, which had, he alleged, been extorted from him by terror and treachery. Murat refused to acknowledge as King, Ferdinand, who entered the city in public the following day ; the Prince made an unworthy attempt to conciliate him, by presenting to him the sword of Francis I., a trophy of his capture at the battle of Pavia. Murat received the gift, but said the recognition of Ferdinand as monarch, depended on Napoleon's pleasure.

Napoleon, whose plans were not yet matured, was vexed at Murat's too hasty advances ; he dispatched his able emissary, Savary, to put matters to rights. Ferdinand, the chosen king of the mob, was denounced by his father as a traitor and usurper ; 40,000 French troops surrounded him, and the title which he had looked to as the reward of his treachery was still unratified. He was foolish enough to adopt Savary's artful advice, of meeting Napoleon at Burgos ; in the vain hope that thus

Bonaparte's favour would be conciliated, and the plans of Charles and Godoy defeated. He set out along with Savary, but found the Emperor neither at Burgos nor Vittoria; Bayonne was not far off—just within the confines of France; and hither Ferdinand was induced to go. The inhabitants of Vittoria, fearing for his safety, became clamorous when they heard of his intended departure; they even cut the traces of his carriage; but the blinded and infatuated Prince, was determined to place himself in the hands of his false friend.

At Bayonne Ferdinand was at first received with ostentatious politeness; he dined with Napoleon, who engaged with him in apparently amicable converse—all things wore a fair appearance; but he was speedily informed by Savary, that he was now a prisoner at the Imperial disposal, and that the time was come when the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign. The plans of the French Emperor were not yet entirely accomplished; the persons of the rest of the Royal Family, together with Godoy, were secured. Like silly birds they were all now within the "fowler's net." To Charles was assigned a pension, with a pleasant retreat in Italy; the profligate Queen and Godoy were also pensioned off, with permission to reside any where out of Spain.

Napoleon's triumph seemed to be secured; the Royal Family had received a suitable reward for their alliance with a faithless nation, and a stern military despot. Spain and Portugal were at his disposal; French troops garrisoned the fortresses, and paraded the streets; French governors directed the local authority; it remained only for the Emperor to appoint a viceroy over the conquered kingdoms; and Joseph had accepted the crown from

his brother. But Bonaparte knew not that the reward of his perfidy was preparing ; that the schemes he had formed were at last defeated ; that the kings of Europe, who had crouched at his footstool, were to see in Spain—priest-ridden and degenerate Spain—the first outbreak of freedom. As his troops watched from the walls of the fortresses the angry countenances of the sullen and discontented people, they knew not that in spite of bad government and a false religion, the mass still cherished noble and patriotic sentiments ; that the old heroic feeling, which for five hundred years had animated the nation in their struggle against the Moors, was not yet dead ; that their jealous and haughty temper loathed the exactions and invasion of the French, and was unceasingly irritated by their presence. Within the surface of society the secret fire was already gathering, which required little to make it burst forth in a conflagration from one end of the land to the other. They had shewn this by the agitation caused at the departure of the Royal Family, and by the alarming tumults which in different places broke out against the French troops. Already the peasantry had raised a riot at Toledo, which was only put down by the advance of a French division.

At Madrid on the 2nd of May, a crowd collected round the palace, watching a carriage in which it was reported that Don Antonio the last of the Spanish princes was to be conveyed to Napoleon at Bayonne ; it was a mistaken rumour, but consequences of great moment was to follow it. The populace dragged the carriage back, and burst out into furious imprecations against the French. An aide-de-camp of Murat's, came up to inquire the cause of the disturbance ; his appearance was the

signal for renewed uproar, and he was with difficulty rescued from the grasp of the mob. The officer returning with a party of soldiers, they were furiously attacked ; and the Spanish war dates its commencement from that hour.

This was the signal for general revolt. In vain did Murat by discharges of grape-shot, attempt to disperse the crowd in the neighbourhood of the palace. All Madrid flew to arms ; the inhabitants of every street fell upon the astonished soldiery. Everywhere the people armed themselves ; the gunsmith's shops were emptied of their fire-arms ; the French detachments surrounded, and in many cases cut to pieces. When regular weapons could not be found, stones, knives, and daggers were employed. The attack raged furiously for several hours ; it was impossible, however, for these brave insurrectionists long to maintain this unlooked for struggle against regular troops. Reinforced by numerous battalions, which poured into the city, and supported by artillery, the French returned to the charge ; repeated volleys of grape cleared the streets, while the Polish Lancers, and Mamelukes of the guard rode furiously along, cutting down the flying masses, and taking a bloody revenge for the death of their comrades. The Spanish troops, locked up by the French in their barracks, could not aid their countrymen ; though some who had been attacked by a body of the French, drew out their guns, and fired several fatal rounds upon their columns ; they were however mastered by a sudden rush, and most of the artillerymen bayoneted. By two in the afternoon the insurrection was put down : three hundred French had fallen. The news of the revolt had caused crowds of the pea-

santry to rush to the gates ; they were charged by the cavalry, and after a great slaughter, dispersed.

Murat adopted the most sanguinary measures. Many prisoners had been taken in the conflict, among whom were some citizens, and even strangers who had unwillingly witnessed the disturbance ; to these were added Spaniards, who, busied in their ordinary avocations, or appearing in the streets, were seized in great numbers by the soldiery, on the charge of having taken part in the tumult, hurried before a newly-formed military commission, and sentenced to be shot. Immediate preparations were made for this atrocious act : the mournful intelligence spread through Madrid ; each feared lest his own friends might be among the slaughtered. As night drew near, the firing commenced, and the regular discharge of heavy platoons in different quarters of the city told that the work of death was going on. Numbers were executed merely on suspicion. " Tied two and two, they were massacred by repeated discharges of musketry ; the murders were continued on the following morning ; and nearly an hundred had perished before, on the earnest intercession of the Spanish ministers, Murat consented to put a stop to this barbarity."

This outrage, as might have been expected, made the Spaniards desperate. Secret assassinations already thinned the ranks of the French, and every straggler was mercilessly cut off. Another general attack was soon made, and ere Murat caused the *generale* to beat, they had nearly gained possession of many parts of the city. Advancing in person at the head of a squadron of horse, he ordered the troops to advance ; the imperial guard cleared the main streets, and formed upon the open place in the Puerta del Sol, while another strong detach-

ment took their station so as to command the arsenal. The slaughter was not put a stop to, till the French Generals, with the municipal authorities, traversed the streets with white flags and implored the populace to retire. The fruit of this tranquillity was the establishment of a military tribunal, invested with the most absolute power. Next came an order of the day, "directing that all groups of Spaniards seen in the streets, exceeding eight in number, should be fired upon; that every village in which a French soldier was slain, should be burned; and that all authors, publishers, and distributors of papers, or proclamations inciting to revolt, should be led out and instantly shot."

The same scenes which had taken place at Madrid, occurred at Cadiz, Seville, Carthagena, and other places. The populace wreaked their vengeance upon all whom they supposed to be treacherous, or even indifferent towards the safety of their country. Their old prejudices against the French were maddened into fury. The sight of the advantages their enemies' perfidy had gained, only added depth to their resolutions, and increased bitterness to their revenge. The rising was simultaneous, as if the people had been aroused by beacons blazing from hill to hill. "The movement," says Alison "was not that of faction or party, it animated alike men of all ranks, classes, and professions. The flame spread equally in the lonely mountains as in the crowded cities; among the hardy labourers of the Basque provinces, as the light-hearted peasantry of the Andalusian slopes; amidst the pastoral valleys of Asturias, or the rich fields of Valencia, as in the crowded emporiums of Barcelona and Cadiz. Within a week after the untoward tidings reached Bayonne, Napoleon was already engaged in a strug-



gle which promised to be of the most sanguinary character, with the Spanish people.”\*

Napoleon was alarmed and vexed on hearing of the riots at Madrid, and is said to have exclaimed that “Murat was going on wrong and too fast.” Provincial and local juntas were formed, with power to levy money and raise troops. Communications were opened with the English fleet on the coast; deputies were sent to England to solicit the aid of government. The land resounded with the cries, *Viva Fernando Septimo! Guerra con la Francia! Paz con Inglaterra! Guerra con el mundo!* Meanwhile, Joseph Bonaparte, late King of Naples, reached Bayonne on the 7th June. Thither an assembly of notables, amounting to one hundred, had been convened, who, as a matter of course, went through the form of electing him to the vacant throne; and at the same time, approved and accepted the new constitution laid before them. Escorted by his troops, King Joseph entered Madrid, and was proclaimed according to the usual formalities King of Spain and the Indies, amid a silent and enraged population, surrounded by French bayonets, and saluted by French cannon.

\* Alison's History of Europe, Vol. VI.

## CHAPTER V.

Remarks on the Spanish Peninsula—Desire of British aid—  
First Military efforts of the Spaniards—First Siege of  
Saragossa—Defeats sustained by the French—Capitulation  
of Baylen—Events in Portugal.

THE Spanish Peninsula has been the theatre of splendid military achievements, both in ancient and in modern times. Of old it has been distinguished by the exploits of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, and Pompey ; among its mountains a desperate conflict raged for centuries, between Christianity and Mahomedanism, and the advancing tide of Mussulman conquests was there first driven back. In more modern times, as memorable deeds have been done on the Spanish soil : “ the standards of Charlemagne have waved in its passes ; the bugles of Roncevalles have resounded through the world ; the chivalry of the Black Prince, the skill of Gonzalvo of Cordova, have been displayed in its defence ; the genius of Napoleon, and the firmness of Wellington, have been exerted on its plains.”

Its inhabitants have always been distinguished by a peculiar mode of warfare. Seldom successful, or placing their main dependence on the shock of battle, defeat seems to lose its power over them, and they tenaciously maintain the contest after having suffered reverses which would have totally broken the spirit of almost any other nation. Hardly is the combat over, when they again unite in hostile bodies, which, sheltered among the mountain chains that intersect the country, hover upon the track of the assailants, and attack them on weak and defenceless points. No people maintain the conflict more

desperately behind the walls of a fortress ; the greater the extremity, the more vigorous becomes their defence, as Saragossa and Girona have lately proved. After the invader conceives that he has put down completely the opposition of a district, there springs up again in every quarter armed resistance, and formidable guerilla bands hover over the country.

In every corner the insurrection against the invaders broke out. The massacre at Madrid aroused the people, " a convulsive thrill ran through every fibre of Spain ; indignation against wrongs, the sense of national humiliation, the deep thirst for vengeance, caused one universal cry, ' To arms ! ' to ring over hill and dale. The news spread with the utmost rapidity : and as the French troops were chiefly drawn towards one point, the aroused exertions of the Spaniards met at first with little opposition. This was no transient ebullition, but as the French soon found to their cost was to be maintained during an almost unparalleled contest. The energies of the different provinces, under the guidance of separate and independent governing juntas, gave system and regularity to their efforts ; though afterwards the inconvenience of so many centres of authority was severely felt, in divided councils and contradictory plans. All classes zealously forwarded contributions to the cause of their country."

At Cadiz the first important blow was struck against the French. Their fleet, consisting of five ships of the line and a frigate, could not put out to sea because Lord Collingwood with a British squadron guarded the entrance of the bay. The Spaniards constructed batteries which commanded the French ships, and a sufficient number of guns being mounted, opened a heavy fire upon them. A

negotiation terminated in the unconditional surrender of the vessels five days afterwards.

Peace was immediately concluded between England and Spain, and preparations made for sending aid to the Spaniards. Meanwhile, Napoleon, who saw the importance of the struggle, was not idle. Reinforcements were despatched into the Peninsula with all possible speed; General Dupont's force was moved towards the Sierra Morena and Andalusia, and was to overrun Seville and Cordova; and Marshal Monecy was detached into Valencia, with orders to put down the violent insurrections which had arisen in that province.

The news of the revolt in Spain was received with the utmost joy in Britain. The hearts of the British beat in unison with those of the Spanish, as they heard of province after province rising against the invaders, and boldly hoisting the flag of freedom. "Never," says Southey, "since the glorious morning of the French Revolution, before one bloody cloud had risen to overcast the deceitful promise of its beauty, had the heart of England been affected by so generous and universal a joy." The hands of the aristocratic party, who in their resistance to France had long been formidably opposed, were now strengthened by the adherence of great masses of the British people, and of the genuine lovers of freedom, who saw a great nation endeavouring to throw off the chains of slavery. A national resistance had sprung up against the iron bondage of Napoleon; and England, ever ready to aid a just cause, resolved to cast in her lot with the Spanish patriots. "Never was the fellowship of our sentient nature more intimately felt, never was the irresistible power of justice more gloriously displayed, than when the British and Spanish nations,

with an impulse like that of two ancient heroes throwing down their weapons and reconciled in the field, cast off at once their aversions and enmities, and mutually embraced each other, to solemnize this conversion of love, not by the festivities of peace, but by combating side by side, through danger, and under affliction, in the devotedness of perfect brotherhood."\* Party-spirit at home was forgotten ; and Mr. Sheridan, from the opposition benches, in a generous and noble speech, exhorted the ministers to activity in the struggle, as one calculated to advance the true glory and interests of the country ; declaring that "never before had so happy an opportunity existed for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. Now was the time to stand up boldly and fairly for the deliverance of Europe ; and if the ministry would co-operate effectually with the Spanish patriots, they should receive his cordial support." He concluded by saying, "Let us mix no little interests with this mighty contest ; let us discard or forget British objects, and conduct the war on the great principles of generous support." Mr. Canning, after declaring the delight with which he had listened to the sentiments of his honourable friend, and the determination of his Majesty's ministers to act vigorously in the cause, said, "Whenever any nation in Europe starts up with a determination to oppose a power which, whether professing insidious peace, or declaring open war, is alike the common enemy of all other people ; that nation, whatever its former relation might be, becomes *ipso facto*, the enemy of Great Britain. In directing the aid which may be required, Government will be guided by three principles,—to direct the united efforts of

\* Wordsworth.

both countries against the common foe, to guide them in such a way as may be most beneficial to our new ally, and to such objects as may be most conducive to British interest. But of these objects the last will be out of all question, compared with the other two. I mention British interests, chiefly for the purpose of disclaiming them as any material part of the considerations which influence the Government. None can be so purely British as Spanish success ; no conquest so advantageous to England, as conquering from France the complete integrity of Spanish dominions in every quarter of the globe." Accordingly, Government made the most liberal provisions for the contest ; the supplies voted for the war charges, amounted to the immense sum of £48,500,000, the total expenditure of the year being £84,797,000.

We must now give a brief sketch (from Captain Sherer's work) of the military efforts of the Spaniards, previous to the siege of Saragossa, the gallant defence of which will require more specific mention :—

"The alarm had spread through Catalonia. The French General, Duhesme, commanded in Barcelona, a city which had been early and treacherously seized ; as also Montjuic and Figueras. The Spanish soldiers of the betrayed garrisons quitted their ranks and flocked to the patriotic standard in Murcia and Valencia. The insurrections of the provinces took place at nearly the same moment ; and the early movements of the French divisions were simultaneous. Marshal Bessieres attacked and worsted the patriots of Navarre and Biscay ; who merely rose, armed, and declared themselves, but had neither leaders, nor points of union, nor any combination. He dispersed many of their as-

semblages, and took away their arms ; they always offered resistance, but in vain. The division of Verdier beat them at Legrono, and put their chiefs to death after the combat. The cavalry of Lasalle, fell upon a body of Spaniards at Torquemada, and put a vast number to the sword ; after which exploit, they burned the town. There was something like a Spanish force at Segovia ; General Friere defeated it, and took thirty pieces of cannon. At Cabeçon there was a battle between the Spanish troops and Cuesta, and the French divisions of Generals Merle and Lasalle. Here again they were beaten, lost their artillery, were broken in upon by the brigade of cavalry under General Lasalle, disarmed of some thousands of muskets, and a vast number cut to pieces. By these active operations, and by the un pitying and unsparing severity with which the French used the sword, these provinces were awed, and for a time stilled ; and the powerless and unhappy peasantry saw the fierce horsemen of the enemy ride about to collect money and provisions, which they furnished in fear. Cuesta, however, undismayed by his defeat, collected another army and his fugitives at Benevente, and was joined by Blake from Astorga ; advancing with 35,000 infantry, a few hundred cavalry, and from twenty to thirty pieces of artillery, he took up a position at Rio Seca, and again ventured on a battle. Here he was attacked by Marshal Bessieres, at the head of 15,000 men, with thirty guns. The Marshal had two divisions of infantry, one of light cavalry, and his reserve was composed of four battalions, and a small body of horse-grenadiers ; all of the imperial guard. The Spaniards were signally defeated, but they were not disgraced ; when their front line was down, and dead bodies strewed

the field, Cuesta fell upon the French with his second line, and with his right wing broke in upon the enemy, (victorious already over half his army) and took from him six guns ; but the Spaniards, though brave to fight, could not manoeuvre ; even had Cuesta been capable of moving them. The French check was soon repaired ; the Spaniards were overpowered, and after many brave rallies, driven from the field, and pursued by a superior cavalry, who, as usual, shone in the work of slaughter.

"It was the disaster of this day which had opened the gates of Madrid to the intruder. In the province of Arragon the insurrection was organized by Don José Palafox, a patriotic noble, the captain-general of the district. Lefebvre Desmouettes marched upon him with 4,000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and his field artillery. At Tudela the people broke down the bridge over the Ebro, and disputed the passage of that river. Lefebvre forced it, and put to death the leaders of the rude levy by which he had been opposed. Palafox with 10,000 raw troops, waited for him on the Fluecha. The Spaniards were beaten. They ventured a second combat on the Xalon ; and were defeated again. Upon the 15th of June, the French columns halted before the city of Saragossa."

"Saragossa is situated on the right bank of the Ebro ; before its first siege in 1808, it contained 50,000 inhabitants. It possessed no regular defences, and few guns fit for service, but was surrounded by a low brick wall. These deficiencies were in some degree remedied by the nature of its buildings, which were well calculated for the internal warfare subsequently carried on, the houses being mostly built of brick and stone, and vaulted so as to be almost incombustible. The city was



also full of churches and convents, strongly built, and surrounded by high thick walls. A broad street, called the Cosso, bent almost into a semi-circle, concentric with the wall, and terminated at each end by the Ebro, divided the city into an outer and inner part. It occupied the ground on which the Moorish walls had formerly stood, before the city attained its present size. This street was the scene of that heroic resistance in 1808, which kept the French at bay after the walls and one half of the place had fallen into their hands. On the 3rd of August, rather more than a month after the commencement of the siege, the convent of St. Engracia which formed part of the wall was breached; and on the 4th it was stormed, and the victorious troops carried all before them as far as the Cosso, and at night were in possession of one half of the city. The French General now considered the city as his own, and summoned it to surrender in a note containing only these words, 'Head-quarters, St. Engracia, Capitulation.' The emphatic reply is well known, and will become proverbial: 'Head-quarters, Saragossa, war to the knife's point.'

"The contest which was now carried on, is unexampled in history. One side of the Cosso, a street about as wide as Pall-Mall, was possessed by the French, and in the centre of it their General Verdier gave his orders from the Franciscan convent. The opposite side was maintained by the Arragonese, who threw up batterries at the openings of the cross-streets, within a few paces of those which the French erected against them. The intervening space was presently heaped with dead, either slain upon the spot, or thrown out from the windows. Next day, the ammunition of the citizens began to fail: the French were expected every moment to

renew their efforts for completing the conquest. One cry was heard from the people, whenever Palafox, the governor, rode amongst them, that if powder failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with their knives—formidable weapons in the hands of desperate men. Just before the day closed, Don Francisco Palafox, the General's brother, entered the city with a convoy of arms and ammunition, and a reinforcement of 3,000 men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Arragon ; a succour as little expected by the inhabitants, as it had been provided against by the enemy.

“ The contest was now continued from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room ; pride and indignation having wrought up the French to a pitch of obstinate fury, little inferior to the devoted courage of the patriots. During the whole siege, no man distinguished himself more remarkably than the curate of one of the parishes within the walls, by name P. Santiago Sass. He was always to be seen in the streets, sometimes fighting with the most determined bravery, at other times administering the sacrament to the dying, and confirming with the authority of faith that hope, which gives to death, under such circumstances, the joy, the exaltation, the triumph, and the spirit of martyrdom. Palafox reposed the utmost confidence in the brave priest, and selected him when any thing peculiarly difficult or hazardous was to be done. At the head of 40 chosen men, he succeeded in introducing into the town a supply of powder, so essentially necessary for its defence.

“ This most obstinate and murderous conflict was continued for eleven successive days and nights, more indeed by night than by day ; for it was almost certain death to appear by day-light within

reach of those houses which were occupied by the other party. But under cover of the darkness, the combatants frequently dashed across the street to attack each other's batteries : and the battles which began there were often carried into the houses beyond, where they fought from room to room, and from floor to floor. The hostile batteries were so near each other, that a Spaniard in one place made way under cover of the dead bodies which completely filled the space between them, and fastened a rope to one of the French cannons ; in the struggle which ensued the rope broke, and the Saragozans lost their prize at the very moment when they thought themselves sure of it.

" A new horror was added to the dreadful circumstances of war in this ever memorable siege. In general engagements the dead are left upon the field of battle, and the survivors require to clear the ground, in order to keep an untainted atmosphere ; but here, in Spain, and in the month of August, where the dead lay, the struggle was still carried on, and pestilence was dreaded from the enormous accumulation of putrifying bodies. Nothing in the whole course of the siege so much embarrassed Palafox, as this evil. The only remedy was to tie ropes to the French prisoners, and push them forward amid the dead and dying, to remove the bodies and bring them away for interment. Even for this necessary office there was no truce, and it would have been certain death to the Arragonese, who should have attempted to perform it : but the prisoners were in general secured by the pity of their own soldiers, and in this manner the evil was in some degree diminished.

" A council of war was held by the Spaniards on the 8th, not for the purpose which is too usual in

such councils, but that their heroic resolution might be communicated to the people. It was resolved, that in those quarters of the city, where the Arragoneses still maintained their ground, they should continue to defend themselves with the same firmness : should the enemy at last prevail, they were then to retire over the Ebro into the suburbs, break down the bridge, and defend them till they perished. When this resolution was made public, it was received with the loudest acclamations. But in every conflict the citizens now gained ground upon the soldiers, winning it inch by inch, till the space occupied by the enemy, which on the day of their entrance was nearly half the city, was reduced gradually to about an eighth part. Meanwhile intelligence of the events in other parts of Spain, was received by the French, all tending to dishearten them. During the night of the 13th, their fire was particularly fierce and destructive ; in the morning, the French columns, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, were seen at a distance, retreating over the plain, on the road to Pampeluna.”\*

The French continued to meet with reverses in different quarters of the Peninsula. The peasantry of eight districts of Catalonia rose in arms ; defeated General Swartz at Pruck, and afterwards routed Chabran's division. General Duhesme had been repulsed from Girona, and Moncey from Valencia, but that General afterwards defeated the Spaniards at St. Felipe ; and Caulincourt put down the resistance of the inhabitants of Cuenca. In Andalusia, General Dupont, who had plundered and sacked Cordova and Andujar, was forced to capitulate at Baylen, with 14,000 troops, to the Spaniards, headed by Castanos and Reding.

\* Southey's History of the Peninsular War.

The result of this last mentioned battle, so disgraceful to the French, was most remarkable. It was more important in its consequences than any since the commencement of the revolutionary war. It was the first instance of a large body of the invaders laying down their arms. A skilful series of movements had disabled one of their ablest Generals. It raised the spirits of all Spain, and convinced them that the French were not invincible; yet it had this unfortunate tendency, that of inspiring the Spaniards with too much rash confidence. A number of the nobles and grandees, hitherto neutral, now joined the patriotic cause; the capital, and the chief towns of the kingdom, with the exception of the frontier fortresses, fell into the hands of the insurgents. Napoleon, when he heard of this capitulation, was dismayed; no incident since the battle of Trafalgar, had affected him so much; his Ministers, alarmed at his depression, thought he had become suddenly indisposed. "Is your majesty unwell?" Asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs. "No." "Has Austria declared war?" "Would to God that was all!" "What then has happened?" The humiliating terms of the capitulation were recounted by Napoleon, who added, "That an army should be beaten is nothing, it is the daily fate of war, and is easily repaired. But that it should submit to a dishonourable capitulation, is a stain on the glory of our arms, which can never be effaced. Wounds inflicted on honour are incurable. The moral effect of this catastrophe will be terrible. What! they have had the infamy to consent that the haversacks of our soldiers should be searched like those of robbers! Could I ever have expected that of General Dupont, a man whom I loved, and was rearing to become a marshal?

They say he had no other way to prevent the destruction of the army, to save the lives of the soldiers ! Better, far better, to have perished with arms in their hands, that not one should have escaped. Their death would have been glorious, we would have avenged them. You can always supply the place of soldiers ; honour alone, when once lost, can never be regained."

These defeats were more severely felt by the French, because they were for the most part sustained, not from regular troops, but from undisciplined, and hastily-levied peasants. The citizens and mountaineers of Catalonia again rose up ; the burghers of Serida, Tortona, Tarragona, Girona, and all other towns not immediately in the hands of the enemy, closed their gates, manned their ramparts, and elected juntas ; while the mountaineers obeying the call of the *somaten*, poured down from the steepes ; the tocsin rang, and arms and torches gleamed through the vine-clad dales. The hilly districts furnished most favourable ground for irregular warfare. Apprehensive of serious consequences from this movement, Duhesme resolved to make a desperate attack upon Girona, both to re-establish his communications, and strike terror into the Spaniards. He appeared before its walls with 6,000 of his best troops, and caught the inhabitants unexpectedly, but they made a brave defence ; two successive attacks were repulsed ; and the French were compelled to retreat by forced marches to Barcelona, the plains around which were filled with large bodies of armed peasantry. By Napoleon's orders, Duhesme again advanced to assault Girona ; he was long delayed by a cannonade from an English frigate, which commanded the road from the sea side ; at length he succeeded in forcing his way,

but not before succour had reached the town. In a few days the French heavy battering cannon made a breach, the troops marched to the assault, but were attacked by a body of 10,000 men in the rear. Afterwards the besieged made a vigorous sally against their lines, penetrated the batteries, spiked the cannons, and set fire to the works. Duhesme could not have made good his retreat had he not sacrificed all his artillery and stores. These successes added to the enthusiasm of the Spaniards: newspapers were established advocating the popular cause; the blood so profusely shed in the massacres of the invaders, could not quench the sacred flame of freedom.

Stirring events were also going on in Portugal; there the resurrection of Castillian independence had the most powerful effect. Junot's vanity failed to perceive the gathering storm. The news of the massacre of Madrid, was the signal for rebellion at Oporto; which was not suppressed without much trouble. Junot immediately disarmed 5,000 Spanish troops in the capital, but he could not prevent the peasants in the neighbourhood of Oporto from again raising the standard of revolt. A junta was formed, and the Bishop, a zealous patriot, made president. General Loison was ordered to proceed from Almeida, to check the insurrection in the province of Entre Douro-Minho, which had a most formidable appearance; but though he defeated the peasantry twice with great slaughter, he was compelled to retreat to Lisbon. In the south, the patriots routed several bodies of the French; in the east, the inhabitants of the town of Beija were only put down by a bloody nocturnal assault. Junot's return to the capital was hastened by the news of the rising in the Alentejo, where a junta and

provisional government had been formed at Evora. The propinquity of this town to Gibraltar was so alarming, that a powerful expedition of 7,000 infantry, 1,200 cavalry, and eight guns, was dispatched against it, under the sanguinary Loison, who had been trained to barbarity in the Egyptian campaigns. A battle was fought, in which the combined Spanish and Portuguese forces were defeated. The French entered the town, and a bloody slaughter ensued ; neither age nor sex being spared ; the French boasted that they had lost only 290, while 8,000 of the insurgents had been put to death. But the hour of retribution had come ; and Loison was roused amid his fancied security, by the intelligence that a British army had been seen off the Portuguese coast.

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## CHAPTER VI.

English expedition sails from Cork—Sir A. Wellesley proceeds to Corunna—Issues a Proclamation—Landing in Mondego Bay—Junot's proceedings—Combat at Rolica—Reinforcements—Battle of Vimiera—Sir A. Wellesley superseded by Sir H. Burrard—Sir H. Dalrymple—Convention of Cintra—Court of Inquiry—Napoleon's Efforts.

THE English government, as soon as it perceived that the Spanish insurrection was no transient display of enthusiastic feeling, but the commencement of a severe struggle, had resolved to send a force to the Peninsula. Troops to the amount of 10,000 men, at first intended for a South American expedition, had been collected at Cork ; the command was given to Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose military genius government seemed now to appre-



ciate. Two smaller divisions were afterwards prepared at Ramsgate and Margate ; and Sir John Moore, who with 12 000 men had been sent to Gottingen to offer assistance to the King of Sweden, against Russia, was likewise ordered to follow the expedition as a reinforcement. Yet though Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Cork as commander-in-chief, he was, on his arrival in Portugal, destined to be superseded by a senior officer, Sir Harry Burrard ; who again, was only to lead the troops until the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple from Gibraltar ; arrangements both unjust in themselves, and calculated to produce unfortunate consequences.

“ When Sir A. Wellesley received the command of the expedition at Cork, government gave him no reason to believe that he was to be superseded in the supreme direction of it. The first intimation he had of that intention was by a letter from Lord Castlereagh, dated 15th July, 1808, which was received by him at sea, off Mondego Bay. Many officers who held the situation, and achieved the victories which he had in India, would have at once resigned the command, in which he was to be reduced to such a subordinate station ; but Sir A. Wellesley, with the single-hearted feeling and patriotic devotion of true greatness, acted otherwise. In answer to Lord Castlereagh, he said :—‘ Pole and Burghersh have apprised me of the arrangements for the future command of the army. All that I can say on the subject is, whether I am superseded or not, I shall do my best to ensure its success ; and you may depend upon it that I shall not hurry the operations, or commence them one moment sooner than they ought to be commenced, in order that I may acquire the credit of the success. The government will determine for me, in

what way they will employ me hereafter ; whether here or elsewhere.' When asked by an intimate friend, after his return, how he who had commanded armies of 40,000 men, received the order of the Bath, and the thanks of Parliament, could thus submit to be reduced to the rank of Brigadier of infantry, he replied, ' For this reason—I was *ni-mute-wallah*, as we say in the East ; I have ate of the king's salt, and therefore consider it my duty to serve with zeal and promptitude, when or wherever, the king or his government may think proper to employ me.' Nor was this disinterested and high-minded patriotism and sense of duty without its final reward : inferior men would probably have thrown up the command, and rested on the laurels of Seringapatam and Assaye ; but Wellington pursued the path of duty under every slight, and he lived to strike down Napoleon on the field of Waterloo."\*

The expedition sailed from Cork on the 12th of July, General Wellesley preceding it in a fast-sailing frigate, to procure the necessary information for regulating its destination. He landed at Corunna on the 20th, and entered into communication with the junta of Galicia, by whom he was told of the unfortunate defeat of Rio Seco ; but though they declared their willingness to accept stores and arms, the self-confident junta declined the aid of troops. Money and arms, they said, were all they wanted, they had still men in abundance. They even offered to send an army into the north of Portugal, to assist in driving away the French ; and recommended that the British forces should be landed on the banks of the Douro. At Oporto, General Wellesley had a conference with the au-

\* Despatches.

thorities and bishop, who urged that the landing should be effected nearer to Lisbon, where the main body of the French lay under Junot. Sir Arthur deeming this his best plan, resolved immediately to prepare for it. The bishop likewise promised the co-operation of a Portuguese force of 5,000 men, and cattle for draught and food. Having received intelligence of Dupont's surrender, he resolved to disembark in Mondego Bay ; a bold resolution, since Junot's force was a third superior to his own.

Before landing he issued the following proclamation to the people of Portugal, eminently descriptive of the true nature and objects of British interference :—"The English soldiers who land upon your shores, do so with every sentiment of friendship, faith, and honour. The glorious struggle in which you are engaged, is for all that is dear to man, the protection of your wives and children, the restoration of your lawful prince, the independence, nay, the existence of your kingdom, and the preservation of your religion ; objects like these can only be obtained by distinguished examples of fortitude and constancy. The noble struggle against the tyranny and usurpations of France, will be jointly maintained by Portugal, Spain, and England ; and in contributing to the success of a cause so just and glorious, the views of his Britannic Majesty are the same as those by which you yourselves are animated."

At Mondego Bay, the whole fleet assembled on the 31st of July. Next morning the disembarkation commenced ; and in spite of a strong west wind and heavy surf, which caused the loss of several boats and a number of lives, was completed by the 5th, when General Spencer's brigade came up.

On the 8th at night, the united forces, amounting to 13,000 men, bivouacked on the sea-shore, and next morning, the advanced guard began their march towards Lisbon. Previously Sir Arthur had held a conference with the Portuguese generals, with whom however he found it impossible to fix a satisfactory plan of co-operation ; they were so exorbitant as to demand that their army, 6,000 men, should be fed by the English general ; as a compromise he was obliged upon their own terms, to incorporate a battalion of infantry and 250 horse. The British were every where hailed with joy by the inhabitants.

Junot had been compelled by the insurrection to disperse his troops, amounting to 25,000 men, throughout the country to garrison the fortified towns, and put down various bands of insurgents. He himself was at Lisbon with the main body ; but could not advance to meet the English, because of a strong tendency to insurrection manifested by the inhabitants ; he was therefore compelled to detach Laborde, one of the ablest French generals, with 3,000 foot and 500 horse, to check the British ; while calling in his various detachments, he ordered them severally to effect a junction with Laborde. The obvious course of the English commander was to prevent this, an object which the skill and celerity of his movements enabled him to effect in the most important instance.

By various reinforcements Laborde's force had been increased to nearly 6,000 men ; he was in the direct line between the British army and Lisbon ; Loison with 8,000 troops, was hurrying by forced marches to meet him, from the south. But the rapidity with which the British advanced, driving Laborde before them, disconcerted their plans.

Leiria, where Laborde and Loison were to have met, had been already seized by the English. Loison retreated to Santarem, to recruit his exhausted troops.

Thus General Wellesley, having a preponderating force, was enabled to attack Laborde at Rolica ; which he did on the 17th of August. The heights of Rolica, though steep and difficult of access, yet want the sterner and more imposing features of mountain scenery ; here and there their face was indented by deep ravines, worn by the winter torrents, the precipitous banks of which were in different parts wooded ; below were groves of the cork-tree and olive ; in the middle rose Obidos, with its ancient walls and fortress, and stupendous aqueduct. On the east the lofty Monte Junto was to be seen, and to the west was the Atlantic. "All was yet still and peaceful, as when the goat-herd tended his flock on the hilly pastures, and the peasant went forth to his labour, carolling his matin song in the sun-rise."

Laborde occupied a strong position. His force including 500 cavalry and five guns, was drawn up on an elevated plateau, at the upper end of the valley : detachments were stationed on both sides of the hills which closed the valley, so as from the rocky thickets and close underwood, to open a formidable fire upon the assailants. General Wellesley divided his force into three columns ; the right of Portuguese, and 50 horse, under Colonel Trant, was to turn the mountains in the rear ; the centre he led in person, to attack the French in front ; the left under General Ferguson to ascend the hills that fronted Obidos, and menace the French right, by turning it in the mountains.

"As the centre advanced, preceded by nine guns,

the corps on the right and left proceeded simultaneously forward in the hills, and the aspect of the body in the plain, 9,000 strong, moving majestically forward at a slow pace, in the finest order, and constantly closing again, after the array had been broken by trees or houses in the line of its advance, strongly impressed the French soldiers; most of whom, like the British, were that day to make their first essay in real warfare, against an antagonist worthy of their arms. No sooner did Laborde see his risk of being outflanked on either side, than he fell swiftly back in admirable order, and took up a second position, much stronger than the former, in a little plain projecting into the valley, higher up in the gorge of the pass, and shut in by close rocky thickets on both sides. Hither he was rapidly pursued by the British; the right centre and left still moving in the same order. Never in the whole progress of the peninsular campaigns, did war appear in a more picturesque and animating form than in the first engagement of the British soldiers. The loud shouts of the advancing columns, re-echoed from the surrounding hills, and answered by as confident cheers from the enemy; the sharp rattle of the musketry among the woods, which marked the advance of the assailants as they drove before them the French light troops; the curling wreaths of smoke which rose above the foliage, and were wafted by the morning air up the sides of the mountains, amidst the rays of a resplendent sun, formed a scene which resembled the mimic warfare of the opera stage, more than the opening of the most desperate strife recorded in modern times."\* At every point at which cannon could bear, a shower of shot swept down the ravine

\* Allison's History of Europe.

among the British. Undismayed, however, the columns moved on. The 29th regiment, though suffering from attacks which they could not repel, kept on their course unbroken ; Colonel Lake, their commander, fell, as the head of the column surmounted a hill, and became exposed to a destructive fire from the vineyards occupied by the enemy. The grenadier company of the 29th, was in the act of forming, when a French battalion charged, after pouring in a volley, and overpowered for a moment this small and unprotected body ; but the rest of the regiment came up, and aided by the 9th, the colonel of which was likewise killed, drove back the enemy, and maintained themselves in the position. Generals Hill and Ferguson, now formed on the heights ; and Laborde abandoning the ground as untenable, retired to Zambugeiro ; from which however, he was driven in a gallant manner, by General Spencer. In this combat, both parties had an equal number of men killed and wounded. The British gained nothing from their numerical force, as they could not bring a greater number into action than the amount of the enemy's force. The French effected their retreat in good order ; for, as Sir Arthur Wellesley had only a few cavalry, and troops and cannon could not be brought with sufficient speed up the passes, he was unable to follow the enemy at once. The engagement closed at five o'clock in the afternoon.

Sir Arthur Wellesley took up a position a little in advance of the scene of action. The following day it was announced that Generals Anstruther's and Ackland's division were off the coast ; and that Junot had drawn all his disposable forces from Lisbon to hazard the chance of a decisive battle. The army therefore proceeded to the sea-coast to pro-

tect the landing of the reinforcements. Junot meanwhile advanced at the head of 14,000 men, including 1,200 horse, and 26 pieces of cannon. By the 20th, the brigades of the two generals were landed; the English army now mustered 16,000 troops, but this superiority was counterbalanced by the strength of the enemy's cavalry and artillery, the British having only 18 guns, 180 British, and 200 Portuguese horse. Sir Arthur Wellesley had intended to turn the strong position of Torres Vedras, and gain Mafra with his advanced guard, while the main body seized the heights, and intercepted the French retreat to Lisbon; but this plan Sir Harry Burrard, who was now off the coast, (and who was more cautious than enterprising) disapproved. Sir Arthur Wellesley went on board his vessel, and urged in vain, the adoption of offensive measures; he returned to the camp in disappointment, unconscious that next day he was to have an opportunity of engaging the enemy. At midnight, a German officer of dragoons, announced that Junot, with 20,000 men, was within a league of the camp. Patrols were immediately sent out, and the pickets and sentinels enjoined to be on the alert, but the rest of the army was undisturbed.\*

“Vimiera is a village prettily situated in a valley

\* “No general ever received reports with such calm caution as Sir Arthur Wellesley. Suddenly awakened, he would receive an alarming account from the front, with a quiet, and to many a bustling, intelligent officer, a provoking coldness; and turn again to his sleep, as before. Few, if any, are the instances during the war, of his putting the troops under arms by night; or disappointing them unnecessarily of one hour of repose. An hour before dawn, the British, when near an enemy, are always under arms. The sun rose upon them on the 21st of August, but discovered no hostile force in motion.”—*Sherer*.



stretching in a north-westerly direction from the interior, and about three miles distant from the sea. On either side rise hills, and to the north, a range of abrupt heights overhangs the plain ; over the summit of which is the great road to Lisbon ; on the south-east is a sort of high table-land, covered in the ravines with myrtle, in the open part bare ; over which the approach on the side of Torres Vedras passes. A still loftier mass of heights overlook these in the rear, and lie between them and the sea." On this rugged ground, the British lay, on the night of the 20th. Soon after sun-rise, a cloud of dust was observed on the high road ; column after column was seen relieved against the sky on the top of the opposite eminences ; arms and banners glittered in the sun. The French were manifestly bearing down in formidable strength upon the British left. So soon as they descended the height they were lost to the eye, and the advanced guards were upon the English videttes almost as soon as they were seen.

But Sir Arthur Wellesley judging their object, from the line of road which they took, strengthened the left, which was his most vulnerable point, by four brigades. The French immediately accumulated their forces on their own right. Laborde with 6,000 men, moved towards the British centre ; Brennier, with 5,000 against the left ; Kellerman, with 3,000, and Margarou with the cavalry, were in readiness as a reserve wherever their aid might be required. The left of the British was commanded by Generals Ferguson, Nightingale, and Bower ; the right by Anstruther and Fane, strongly placed in the valley in front of Vimiera. Ackland's brigade was placed intermediately between the left and the centre ; and Hill's, formed in a massy co-

lumn, and composing the right, rested on the top of the heights, which bounded the valley to the south.

Junot's army moved in two divisions, commanded by Laborde and Loison. The first of these advanced impetuously against the British centre, coming in contact with the 50th regiment, its light companies were driven in, and the French, confident of victory, loudly cheering, mounted the hill to the north-east of Vimiera. No sooner, however, did they reach the summit, than the British artillery opened a destructive fire upon them from the edge of the steep; and the troops were terrified by the effects of the shrapnell-shells, then first used against them, which after striking down whole files of men in front, went off with most destructive explosion in the rear. Still breathless from the ascent, they were put to flight by a volley from the 50th within pistol-shot, followed by a charge with the bayonet. An attack on General Fane's brigade was as decisively repulsed; and a body of French advancing on the village, by the church, were opportunely attacked in flank by General Ackland, then proceeding to take up his position on the heights. The squadron of dragoons commanded by Colonel Taylor, charged and completed their discomfiture; but the few British horse being set upon by Margarou's cavalry, were obliged to retreat, leaving their gallant leader dead on the field. While the French were thus beaten in the centre, a severe conflict raged in the hills to the left, where a road winds up the steep to the north of Vimiera; here, under Brennier and Solignac they were losing ground, and Junot ordered Kellerman to support them with the whole reserve of infantry. The French proceeded impetuously, covered by a cloud of skirmishers, and

were met by Ferguson's brigade on the top of the ridge. Several terrible volleys of musketry were exchanged by these brave antagonists, almost within pistol-shot ; but at length the brigade, supported by a reinforcement which nearly doubled their numbers, rushing fiercely on drove the French before their bayonets down the steep with the loss of all their artillery. "Such was the execution of the bayonet on this occasion, that the whole front line of one of the enemy's regiments went down like grass before the scythe, and three hundred men lay dead as they had stood in their ranks." Junot made a last bold attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day, by ordering Brennier's and Kellerman's troops again to advance. The men having been formed behind rocks and woods which screened them from the notice of the British, advanced in good order, and came upon our troops as they were in loose array, some of them even lying on the ground, and drove them back, recovering the guns ; but this success lasted but a moment, the British again rallied upon the heights in their rear, and facing about, poured in a deadly volley, then charging with loud hurrahs, not only again captured the artillery, but took prisoner the French general, and again drove his troops in confusion down the hill. Solignac was dangerously wounded, and his brigade driven off the ground in a different direction from Brennier's, would have been captured, had not an unexpected order from Sir Harry Burrard, compelled General Ferguson to halt at the moment of success. The broken French, in consequence of this, had time to rally ; they fell back to the north of their position in the morning—the heights on the opposite side of the valley, leaving in possession of the British thirteen pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammuni-

tion, and 400 prisoners. The English lost 800 men in killed and wounded : of the French 2,000 were left dead on the field.

Had Sir Arthur Wellesley been left to himself, this hard fought battle would have been the earnest of decisive success. Three brigades of his army and the Portuguese, had not fired a single shot, and two other brigades had scarcely at all suffered ; the whole army was in the highest spirits and order ; "the shouts of victory, the triumphant clang of trumpets, was heard along the whole line ; and from the direction which the broken French had taken after their defeat, they were entirely cut off from the retreat to Lisbon ; while the British, who had repulsed their oblique attack, and driven them off in a north-easterly direction, were masters of the great road by Torres Vedras to the capital." Activity and energy promised to be followed by the happiest effects ; Sir Arthur Wellesley was most anxious to follow up the advantages thus placed within his reach, and had it rested with himself, would have turned them to the best account. He proposed to pursue the retreating columns of the enemy with 14,000 British and Portuguese troops, and drive them back in a north-easterly direction away from the capital ; while the rest of the troops, should push on for the defile of Torres Vedras, and cut off the French retreat ; all of Junot's artillery that remained, and probably the greater part of his army as prisoners, with the possession of Lisbon, would have been the precious reward of this movement ; but the clear discernment, the cool judgment, and enterprising plans of Wellington, were now superseded by the tame caution of Sir H. Burrard. That officer, who had landed during the battle, had, with honour to himself, delicately

refrained from assuming the command of the army till its close. Considering, however, that the responsibility of ulterior operations devolved upon himself, he gave orders to halt on all points, and await Sir John Moore's reinforcement. Sir Arthur, with military frankness strongly remonstrated against this injudicious proceeding, pointing out the incalculable importance of instantly following up the beaten Junot, and interposing between him and the capital. But Sir H. Burrard a formal disciple of the old school, could not be induced to move. The French resumed their ranks, struck with astonishment at being unpursued. That very night, Junot, by a forced and circuitous route regained Torres Vedras, thus securing his retreat to Lisbon. Sir Arthur seeing the result, exclaimed with affected gaiety and real bitterness and disappointment, to his staff, "Gentlemen, nothing now remains to us but to go and shoot red-legged partridges."

On the morning after the battle, Sir H. Burrard's brief and unhappily used authority, was at an end, by the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple. He held a consultation with Sir Arthur, and Sir H. Burrard, and had resolved on the 23rd to move against Junot at Torres Vedras, when he received information that a French flag of truce was waiting at the outposts; and Kellerman arrived, the bearer of a proposition from Junot that an armistice should take place, with a view to the evacuation of Portugal. Alarmed by the thought that Sir John Moore's reinforcement was about to land; that Lisbon with a hostile population of 300,000 was in the rear, its forts and defences incapable of standing a siege against 30,000 British, and that a retreat through the mountain ridges of Portugal with the enraged peasantry hovering around him, would be produc-

tive of the greatest loss, he had no other alternative before him. A great advantage then would be gained, should he obtain an arrangement by which his army might be safely transferred to France, with a view to the renewal of hostilities in the north of Spain. He perceived also that the British did not know how to profit by the advantage which they had gained; and thought he might obtain good terms from those who did not seem to know their own strength. He selected the able and acute Kellerman for this mission;—who, by his knowledge of English, discovered from hints dropped in conversation, that Burrard and Dalrymple did not share Sir Arthur Wellesley's confidence in the result of the army's advance;—and, by dwelling largely on the means of resistance still in the power of the French, and their determination even to be "buried beneath the ruins of Lisbon," rather than have their honour tarnished, paved the way for the favourable reception of the terms he was about to propose, the substance of which was, that the French should not be considered prisoners of war, but sent home by sea, with their artillery, arms, and baggage, and liberty to serve again; that their partizans in the country should, without molestation, be permitted to depart with their effects; and that the Russian fleet in the Tagus, should occupy Lisbon as a neutral harbour. To the last article in particular Sir Arthur Wellesley strongly demurred; and Sir Charles Cotton, the British Admiral, positively refused to agree to it. It has been said, that in a military point of view, all the three British Generals concurred in approving the convention of Cintra. Burrard and Dalrymple must necessarily have been imperfectly acquainted with the state of the case; and Sir Arthur Wellesley, having seen his opinion over-ruled and

rejected at the moment when fortune was at its flood, and the chances of success impaired, may have considered that, as the war might now be indefinitely protracted, the liberation of Portugal, with its sea-coast, ports, and fortresses, and of the eastern line of frontier opening a communication with Spain, might be not disadvantageously purchased at the expense of the articles ceded to the French. And no one can doubt that these were unquestionably most important advantages.

But whatever may have been the expediency of this treaty, it is most certain that the greatest dissatisfaction and disappointment were felt and expressed, not only by the Portuguese, but still more at home, when the news arrived; the substantial good which might accrue from the measure was set aside, and a loud outcry of indignation arose from all quarters of the kingdom; it was said that the honour of the British nation, and of its allies had been sacrificed; and that we had been "fooled out of what we had gained by the sword, in negotiations." It was seen that the interference of Sir H. Burrard had prevented Sir Arthur from following up the victory he had won, and so caused an arrangement to be necessary, which, it was thought, wore a disgraceful appearance; a court of enquiry was demanded, the result of which shewed that the superior officers had erred, from an excess of caution inducing an erroneous view of matters; yet they were never again employed in the public service; and their alleged delinquency, even for a time cast a shade upon the acknowledged merits and military genius of the victor of Assaye, from which his great services and influential family connections did not wholly defend him.

In carrying the articles of the convention of Cin-



tra into effect, difficulty, arising chiefly from the injustice and rapacity of the French, was attached to all the contracting parties. Notwithstanding the proximity of the British forces, who approached close to Lisbon, and though the French troops were constantly in masses, it was found impossible to prevent the indignation of the populace from finding vent in various acts of aggression ; crowds of the peasantry flocked into Lisbon, waving in their hats the motto, " Death to the French ! " and at night, repeated skirmishes took place between the mob and the French posts. Much trouble also arose from the immense loads of plunder of all kinds, which the French, from the highest general to the lowest soldier, were compelled to disgorge. They had packed up the whole furniture of the palace, rifled the museum, libraries, arsenals, and other public buildings ; robbed the churches of their plate ; and laid hold of all the money in the public offices. Junot even demanded five vessels to carry off his personal seizures. The French commander was at length compelled by the British, to issue a general order for the restitution of all the property, and there was then exhibited a specimen of the wholesale system of plunder and spoliation carried on by the French. They succeeded however in carrying off with them a considerable part of their booty.

Before proceeding briefly to narrate Sir John Moore's campaign, we must give a short sketch of Spanish affairs during Sir Arthur Wellesley's absence in England. The French had been defeated in various quarters, and a centre and superior junta had been formed with the concurrence of the local authorities. Joseph Bonaparte, the King of Spain and the Indies, had arrived at Madrid, but was



forced to retreat in ten days, after rifling the palace, and carrying off the crown jewels. Aranjuez was made the seat of government, and the patriots made vigorous efforts for carrying on the war. There were now in Spain 60,000 French troops, strongly posted, having the Ebro in their front, the river Arragon on their left, and the Bay of Biscay on the right. To meet these, the Spaniards strove to organize three armies, one on the right under Palafox ; a second under Castanos, celebrated for his deliverance of Andalusia ; the left under Blake, who had acquired fame at the battle of Rio Seco ; the whole nominally amounting to 130,000 men, but never actually half that number. Even these, with the exception of 10,000 disciplined troops under Blake, were either raw recruits, or had been enervated by an idle and listless life at home. The officers, though many of them brave, were almost all inexperienced. The commissariat was in a wretched state, and the troops therefore mutinous and discontented ; only kept together by hatred of the invader, the goodness of their cause, and the patriotic spirit of the people.

One immediate effect of the convention was most unfortunate. Not only did it render the Spaniards somewhat distrustful of us, but much valuable time was lost ; the transports which should have conveyed the British troops to those places where they might co-operate most advantageously with the Spaniards, being employed in carrying the French home, in terms of the treaty. On the 30th of August, the convention was signed ; it had been determined that a British army should be sent to the north of Spain ; but it was not till the 6th of October that Sir John Moore was appointed commander, and ordered to form a junction in Galicia, or

Leon with 15,000 men, who were sent to Corunna, under Sir David Baird. Sir John Moore's advanced guard did not enter Salamanca till the 15th of November. The first news he heard was, that the Estramaduran army of reserve under Count Belvidere, had been put to flight at Burgos.

Meanwhile Napoleon had not been idle, his operations commenced almost before the British troops had begun their march from Portugal. His object was, to defeat Blake's army before the English could join it. In the first action, Blake succeeded; though his men had suffered the most dreadful privations; having been without clothing, shoes, and scarcely any food, among the snowy mountains of Biscay. But the French bringing up fresh troops, at length defeated him.

In the meantime Soult and Bessieres attacked the army of Estramadura, which did not muster more than 12,000 men, composed chiefly of recruits and volunteers; among the latter were the students of Leon and Salamanca, who almost all fell in their ranks, and by their death spread mourning through many respectable families in Spain. There remained only the army of the right, pressed by Lannes and Moncey in the front and on the left, while Ney menaced the rear. Castanos was defeated with great loss at Tudela; but Ney being occupied in plundering Soria, did not reach Agreda till the day after the remnants of the Spanish army had passed through it in their retreat; this last defeat of the Spaniards happened ten days after Sir John Moore entered Salamanca.

"Sudden and prompt in execution, Napoleon prepared for one of those majestic efforts which have stamped this age with the greatness of antiquity. His armies were scattered over Europe.

In Italy and Dalmatia ; on the Rhine, Danube, and Elbe ; in Prussia, Denmark, and Poland, his legions were to be found. Over that vast extent, above 500,000 disciplined men maintained the supremacy of France. From these bands he drew the imperial guards, the select soldiers of the war-like nation he governed, and the terror of the other continental troops. The veterans of Jena, Austerlitz, reduced in numbers, but of confirmed hardihood, were collected into one corps, and marched towards Spain. A host of cavalry, unequalled for enterprise and knowledge of war, was also directed against that devoted land ; and a long train of gallant soldiers followed, until 200,000 men, accustomed to battle, had penetrated the gloomy fastnesses of the western Pyrenees ; 40,000 troops of inferior reputation, drawn from the interior of France, from Naples, Tuscany, and Piedmont, were assembled at Perpignan. The march of this multitude was incessant ; and as they passed the capital, Napoleon, neglectful of nothing which could excite their courage, and swell their military ardour, addressed to them one of those nervous orations that shoot like fire to the heart of a real soldier. In the tranquillity of peace it may seem inflated, but on the eve of battle it is thus a general should speak.

“Soldiers ! after triumphing on the banks of the Vistula and the Danube, with rapid steps you have passed through Germany. This day, without a moment of repose, I command you to traverse France. Soldiers ! I have need of you ! the hideous presence of the Leopard contaminates the Peninsula of Spain and Portugal. In terror he must fly before you. Let us bear our triumphal eagles to the pillars of Hercules ; there also we

have injuries to avenge. Soldiers ! you have surpassed the renown of modern armies ; but have you yet equalled the glory of those Romans, who, in one and the same campaign, were victorious upon the Rhine and the Euphrates, in Illyria and upon the Tagus ! A long peace, a lasting prosperity, shall be the reward of your labours. A real Frenchman could not, ought not to rest, until the seas are free and open to all. Soldiers ! all that you have done, all that you will do for the happiness of the French people, and for my glory, shall be eternal in my heart.'—Thus saying, he caused his troops to proceed to the frontiers of Spain.\*

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## CHAPTER VII.

Napoleon's advance to Madrid—Sir John Moore's Expedition—Retreat—Sufferings and Insubordination of the Army—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Operations of the Spaniards—Defence of Saragossa—Soul advances into Portugal.

NAPOLÉON entered Spain on the 8th November, and the influence of his presiding genius was soon apparent in the defeats which the Spaniards experienced from the French generals. Belvidere had been routed, and Blake's army, after a series of combats, almost annihilated at Reynosa on the 13th ;—a defeat which involved the loss of the greater part of the Spanish veteran soldiers who had been conveyed from the Baltic. With the remnants of his army Blake fled to the Austurian mountains, and in conjunction with Romana, at

\* Napier's Peninsular War.

tempted to re-organise the fragments. Bonaparte rapidly approached the capital, defeating with ease the Spaniards under General St. Julian. As the French approached Madrid, the central junta fled ; and Morla, who remained in command, if no traitor, at least shewed little zeal or energy in his country's cause. The city, in a state of alarm and anarchy, was summoned to surrender by Napoleon on the 2nd December : no answer was returned ; but when the French batteries were opened, and the Retiro carried by Villatte's division, a capitulation was agreed to, and on the 4th the surrender was made ; though loud professions had been made at first of resistance against the French, and each individual seemed to burn with patriotic ardour. No sooner were the terms completed, than a body of nobles, clergy, and public authorities, waited on the Emperor at Chamartin, with an address. Resistance from the Spaniards seemed now for a time to be at an end ; and a single British army, numerically weak and unsupported, was the only opposing force in the Peninsula. The French army was divided throughout the provinces, to complete the conquest effected in the capital ; an arrangement which might well be made, seeing that after deducting the number of troops required for garrisons and communications, a force of no less than 160,000 men was disposable for active operations.

Sir John Moore, who was placed at the head of the British army, enjoyed a very high military reputation ; his talents were universally acknowledged, his courage had been repeatedly tried, and he was endeared to his followers by goodness and kindness of heart. To appreciate his merits, we must take into account the difficulties which he

was fully conscious he had to encounter : he was aware of the weakness and disorder of the Spanish armies, and the imbecility of the government ; no general plan of operation had been forwarded to him : judging from the apparent apathy of the people, and not having had means of forming a full estimate of their character, he believed that the French would require " little more than a march to subdue the country : " we must add likewise that the sense of these difficulties, acting upon a naturally grave temperament, made him doubt the ultimate success of the struggle. " The probability," said he in a letter to one of his brothers, " is that the French will succeed ; and if they do, it will be from no talent having sprung up after the first effort, to take advantage of the enthusiasm that then existed. The Spaniards have not shewn themselves wise or prudent. Their wisdom is not that of action ; but still they are a fine people ; a character of their own, quite distinct from other nations, and much might have been done with them. Pray for me that I may make wise decisions, but if bad ones, it will not be from want of consideration." There is no doubt that the early vigour of the Spaniards had in many cases subsided into an inert hatred of the French : disasters had pressed heavily upon them ; they were destitute of experienced troops, and had scarcely any artillery ; they were almost without generals of talent, and magazines ; and their leaders were divided and at variance. The supplies from England had been in many cases misapplied,—and the they were quarrelling about their distribution, when they ought to be using them against the enemy.

Sir John Moore arrived in Spain too late to save

the Spanish armies from defeat ; and while he remained six weeks at Salamanca, uncertain how he should act, the course of events went so rapidly on as still more to increase his indecision. After defeating Blake, it was evident that Napoleon would advance on Madrid ; Sir John plainly saw that there were just two courses open to him, either to march to the defence of the capital, or retreat and assume a defensive position ; his own inclination was in favour of the latter, for it appeared impossible that an army which did not exceed 30,000 men, could contend against Napoleon's forces, which were more than six times that number.

Mr. Frere, the English ambassador, was Sir John Moore's only medium of communication with the head junta, whose influence, however, was scarcely more than nominal, except in their own immediate neighbourhood. Of an ardent temperament, and trusting too implicitly to the representations of the junta, Mr. Frere unconsciously represented to Sir John Moore matters as they really were not, and urged movements in advance, which Moore feared would be pregnant with disaster and destruction. Frere wished him to take the Spartan resolution of advancing at once to defend Madrid, a proceeding obviously most rash. Anxious, however, to discharge his duty in the best manner possible, urged by his own feelings, and the importunities of the Spanish government, General Moore resolved, by an effort against the north-western part of the French army, both to prevent them from pressing upon Romana, who was endeavouring to re-unite the remnants of the Gallician army ; and also to hinder them from marching to the south to complete the conquest of the Peninsula. Yet General Moore perceived that by this bold measure, he ran the

risk of drawing upon himself a predominant force of the enemy, before whom a retreat would be both difficult and perilous. He ordered Sir David Baird, whose retreat from Corunna had already commenced, again to occupy Astorga ; and determined to advance, though he added at the same time, these ominous words, " I mean to move bridle in hand, for if the bubble bursts, and Madrid falls, we shall have a run for it."

An intercepted dispatch from Napoleon, first acquainted Sir John of the fall of the capital, and also of the unsuspecting security in which Soult's troops lay in the valley of the Carrion. Moore resolved to strike a blow at him. Notwithstanding their disappointment, in consequence of the retreat of Romana, the English forces still pushed on. On the 20th, a junction was formed with Sir David Baird ; and next day the troops reached Sahagem, near which Lord Paget, (since Marquis of Anglesea) with only 400 horse, fell in with, and after a short but brilliant action, defeated 700 French cavalry, thirteen officers, and 150 men being made prisoners. Soult, seriously alarmed, called in his detachments from all quarters, and prepared for an attack.

Napoleon heard of Moore's advance on the 21st ; the evening of the following day 50,000 men under his own immediate orders, were collected at the foot of the Guadarama pass. The French troops at Talavera were also in full march upon the British. Moore was compelled to retreat, or Ney's advance would have rendered the situation of his army desperate ; for he was now nearly girdled in by large masses of the Emperor's troops. It was only by twelve hours that Moore saved the passage of the Esla, and escaped finding Napoleon in his front. Sir John



himself, with the rear-guard, was threatened by a large body of Ney's horse, but Lord Paget, with only two squadrons, drove them back by a successful charge. By this timely retreat, the British reached Benevento before the enemy. The Emperor returned to France, but the pursuit was carried on as vigorously as before.

"Since the commencement of the retreat, the soldiers had been in a state of discontent and disorder, and the authority of the officers was almost unheeded. Ravages and plunder marked their way; and the castle of Benevento, almost unequalled in Europe for extent and splendour, was rudely dismantled; its tessellated pavements and jasper columns, broke and destroyed by fire, and the choicest works of Spanish art, torn down from the walls to serve for fuel. From Astorga to Lugo the English line of march was a scene of the greatest suffering, and the most reckless license. The route was over miserable roads, and an exhausted country. They were half famished; showers of rain and sleet drenched them to the skin, and even at night they could not always procure shelter from the elements. No description can equal the horror of this dreadful retreat. Along the snow-covered road lay the dead and the dying, left behind by the columns, which were compelled to push on with accelerated speed. The rear-guard indeed gallantly kept the enemy back; and whenever they came near, facing about, drove them away with slaughter; but the rest of the troops, wanting this excitement, sunk in numbers under the rigour of the season, or lay down, the victims of intemperance; when the rear-guard closed up the array, they had to force their way through a motley crowd of English and Spanish soldiers, stragglers, and marauders, who reeled out

of the houses in disgusting crowds, or lay stretched on the road side, an easy prey to the enemy's cavalry, which thundered in close-pursuit. The condition of the army daily became more deplorable ; the frost had been succeeded by a thaw, and the rain fell in torrents, the roads were almost broken up, the horses foundered at every step, the few artillery waggons which had hitherto kept up, fell one by one to the rear, and being immediately blown up to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands, gave melancholy token, by the sound of their explosion, of the work of destruction which was going on. Sir John Moore was constantly with the rear, doing his utmost to arrest the disorders, and protect the retiring columns. At Villa Franca, a sharp skirmish ensued with the rear-guard, in which, though the French cavalry were at first successful, they were ultimately repulsed by a heavy fire from the British light troops, with the loss of several hundred men, including General Colbert, who fell while gallantly leading on the van-guard. Such was the general wreck, however, in other quarters of the British army, of presence of mind, or forethought, that at Nogale, the military chest of the army, containing £35,000 in dollars, having stuck fast in the mud, was rolled in the cask that contained it, over a precipitous descent, and became the prey of the peasantry who picked it up at the bottom. All subordination was now at an end ; the soldiers, exhausted by fatigue, or depressed by suffering, sunk down by hundreds, by the way-side, and breathed their last ; some with prayers, others with curses on their lips ; and the army, in frightful disorder, at length reached Lugo, late on the evening of the 6th of January.\*

\* Alison's History of Europe, Vol. VI.

At Lugo Sir John Moore halted, and issued a proclamation, in which he strongly reprehended the insubordination of the soldiers, announcing at the same time his intention of giving battle to the enemy. He posted his army strongly along a ridge of low hills, flanked on both sides by steep rocks. No sooner was his resolution of fighting known than a magic change seemed to have passed upon the troops. Disorder for the time ceased; the ranks were filled, and stragglers came up, each face was lit up with joy, each hand was busy in examining locks, loosening flints, and sharpening bayonets. About mid-day the French columns appeared advancing; but for several hours the lines gazed at each other, without hostile movement on either side. Evening came on, and the troops returned to their quarters.

Next morning the enemy opened a cannonade from four guns, supported by a few squadrons of cavalry, but were answered by the British with such effect that one of their guns was dismounted. A column of French advanced, but after pushing in the English out-posts, was so successfully repulsed by the light troops under Sir John Moore's immediate direction, that 400 men were killed. The whole of the next day, the two armies were arranged in battle-array facing each other, but Soult shewed no wish to attack; and Sir John Moore satisfied with having rallied his troops, and kept the enemy in check, continued his retreat during the night, leaving his camp fires burning to deceive the enemy. The British gained so much ground by this manœuvre that it was not till next evening the French could approach the rear. Our troops had a most dismal march, the cold was piercing, and heavy sleet fell during the dark and tempestuous

night. Jaded and fatigued, and many of them without shoes, they marched knee-deep in mud. No discipline could be preserved, and the number of stragglers was very great. It was ten next morning before they reached Valmeda. The troops were so exhausted that a halt was absolutely indispensable; the men lay on the ground for several hours, exposed to torrents of rain. This brief repose was broken several times by cries that the enemy was coming up, and at each alarm the troops were ordered to fall in. From Betanzos, which they reached next day, the army arrived at Corunna, with little molestation from their pursuers. "As the troops successively arrived at the heights where the sea was visible, and Corunna, with its white walls and towers, rose upon the view, all eyes were anxiously directed to the bay, in hopes that the joyful sight of a friendly fleet of transports might be seen, but the wide expanse was deserted, and a few coasters and fishing boats were alone visible on the dreary main."

They had no alternative now but to fight for the means of embarkation, for the enemy was behind them and the sea in front. Each brigade as it arrived, was successively placed in the town, and every means adopted in conjunction with the inhabitants, to strengthen the land defences. Next day, two powder magazines, containing 4,000 barrels, were blown up with a terrific explosion. "Corunna shook as if convulsed by an earthquake. Huge masses of rock were cast from their pedestals. The calm waters in the bay became furiously agitated. A vast column of smoke and dust arose perpendicularly and slowly to a great height, and then bursting with a roaring sound, a shower of stones, and fragments of all kinds, reverted to the earth, killing

several persons who had incautiously remained near the scene of peril. A stillness only interrupted by the lashing of the waves on the shore succeeded, and the business of war went on."

When the transports arrived, immediate preparations were made for embarkation. The cavalry horses were destroyed, and all the artillery conveyed on board, with the exception of eight British and four Spanish guns, reserved for immediate use.

The bulk of the army, now reduced to 14,000 men, was drawn up with great care by Sir John Moore on a series of heights which circled in the form of an amphitheatre around the village of Elvina, at the distance of more than a mile from Corunna. These were commanded by a loftier range, on which Marshal Soult, with 20,000 men was already posted. The French were well supplied with artillery, which swept the ground occupied by their gallant adversaries; their guns commenced a hot discharge, under cover of which, three heavy columns advanced to the attack. These, throwing out clouds of light troops, and driving in the English advanced posts, got possession of Elvina, in front of the centre. As they drew near they deployed into a line which greatly extended beyond the British left, but the 4th regiment had the bravery and steadiness to advance, throwing back its right wing, and engage with the enemy, showing a front to them in two directions. Baird's division in the centre was warmly engaged with Mermet's troops who, having carried Elvina, were breaking through the enclosures which lay between its houses and the British. The action was now general along the whole line; the opposing centres exchanged repeated volleys within pistol-shot; a splendid bayonet charge from the 50th and 42nd regiments, drove

the enemy back again through the village, and a considerable way up the opposite slope. The pursuers, however, went too far, and being unsupported, were severely checked ; while entangled among the enclosures and walls behind the village, they were attacked by fresh French troops, and again driven through its streets, leaving Major Napier wounded and a prisoner. Moore instantly rode up, addressed the 42nd in the memorable words, "Highlanders, remember Egypt !" and bringing up a battalion of guards to strengthen them, led them forward to the charge. After a desperate struggle, the enemy was repulsed at the bayonet point ; but this was Moore's last exploit, a cannon shot struck him, as the tide of battle was just turning in favour of the British. Sir David Baird also, was carried from the field severely wounded.

The enemy made fresh attempts ; an attack on the British centre was successfully repulsed, and the ground being more elevated, the guns were brought to play with good effect. On the left, the enemy having got possession of a village, kept up a fire, but was driven out by Colonel Nicholls, at the head of a few companies. Day was closing ; the enemy had lost ground at all parts of the field ; though the firing still continued at intervals, and night put an end to the sanguinary contest.

It was while leading the gallant 42nd to the charge that Sir John Moore received his death wound. The shot struck him from his horse ; but his countenance remained unchanged, and without even a sigh, he sat upon the ground and watched the progress of the battle. "His eye was steadfast and intent, and it brightened as he saw that all went bravely and well." He reluctantly allowed himself to be taken to the rear. Then was the

dreadful nature of the wound seen ; the shoulder was shattered to pieces ; the arm hanging by a film of skin, and the breast and lungs almost laid open. As the soldiers placed him in a blanket to carry him away, the hilt of his sword entered the wound : Captain Harding would have taken it off, but Moore stopped him, saying, " It is as well as it is ; I had rather it should go out of the field with me ! " It was a long way to the town, and the torture of the motion was great, but the expression of his countenance was calm and resolute. As he approached the ramparts, he several times made the bearers stop, and turn him round, that he might see the field of battle ; and as the retreat of the firing shewed that the enemy was driven back, a smile overspread the features that were relaxing in death. After he was laid on a couch in his lodgings, the pain of his wound increased. He spoke with difficulty, and at intervals. He often asked how the battle went ; and being at last told that the enemy was defeated, he said, " It is a great satisfaction to me to know that we have beaten the French." He was firm and composed to the last ; once only, when speaking of his mother, he betrayed great emotion. " You know," said he to his old friend Colonel Anderson, " that I always wished to die this way ! " The bitter agony of spirit which he had long endured was mournfully evidenced. " I hope," he exclaimed, " the people of England will be satisfied ! I hope my country will do me justice ! " These sentences were among the last he uttered : his sufferings were not long ; he expired with the hand of Colonel Anderson pressed firmly in his own. His attendants wrapt the dead hero in his cloak, and a grave was hastily dug on the ramparts of Corunna.

There was deep silence as they laid him in his bed of glory,—

“ By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,  
And the lantern dimly burning.”

No shots were fired above his resting-place ; but the distant cannon of the foe paid the funeral honours to his memory.

General Hope, now commander, conducted the embarkation with decision and judgment. It commenced at ten that night ; before day, all but the rear-guard were on board, which, with Generals Hill and Beresford, did not embark till three o'clock the following day. The French, satisfied with the desperate courage of the English, molested them not. The Spaniards, with bravery and generosity, manned the ramparts when the British troops were withdrawn ; so that the sick, wounded, artillery, stores, and prisoners, were all got on board. The guns of the French, however, from a neighbouring height, caused much confusion, but little damage among the transports. After the last of the baggage and stragglers were on board, the inhabitants, seeing further defence useless, surrendered the town.

The intelligence of this disastrous retreat caused great sorrow and alarm in England ; but the grief was not unmingled with triumph, and the cyprus was blended with the laurel. The British had failed not by their fault, but their misfortune ; they had been unavoidably forced to retreat, but with untarnished honour ; repeatedly had the daring pursuers been beaten back with desperate bravery ; and the whole had been covered by a decisive and successful battle, in which the French had lost 3,000, the British only 800 men ; though to this loss is to be added that of their brave chief, whose alleged errors



and deficiency, his countrymen gladly forgot, while they gloried in his warrior-death, and will ever cherish his memory with love and honour.

Before introducing Sir Arthur Wellesley upon this great stage of exciting deeds, we must interpose a sketch of the movements going on among the Spaniards ;—a full account of the efforts made by them at this time against the French, would lead us beyond our limits.

The Spaniards resolved to profit by the brief respite which had been purchased for them so dearly. They were still masters of the south bank of the Tagus. The Duke del Infantado collected the remnants of the dispersed armies at Cuenca, with which he even hoped to recover Madrid. But his lieutenant, Vanegas, being defeated in consequence of rashness and improvidence, he retreated into Valencia, whence the junta summoned him to Seville. He was deprived of his command, and like Castanos, regarded with suspicion. Almost the sole defence of Andalusia, were now the armies of Cuesta and the Marquis of Palacio.

In Catalonia, St. Cyr defeated an attempt to recover Barcelona, Rosas was likewise taken. In Arragon, Saragossa was besieged by Moncey. Romana and his small body of men sheltered himself among the mountains of Galicia, while Soult overran the province ; and who, in addition to Corunna, had also gained Ferrol.

Joseph re-entered Madrid on the 22nd January ; the populace without any outward manifestation of hostility, received him in sullen silence ; they even, headed by the municipality and the several councils, took the oath of allegiance to the usurper. A military tribunal was immediately instituted for the trial of all suspected of disaffection to the government.

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Though it may be regarded as rather a deviation from the main course, we cannot resist giving some account of the second famous defence of Saragossa ; which was one of the first places of note attacked by the French. After the battle of Tudela, Palafox, with 15,000 regular troops, had thrown himself into the city. Stragglers and fugitives, together with crowds of peasants, monks, and mechanics, soon doubled the number. The utmost enthusiasm animated this confused mass ; in the nineteenth century their bosoms still seemed to glow with the glories of Numentia and Saguntum ; and to patriotic fervour, deep religious enthusiasm was joined.

Since the former siege, the defences of the town had been much strengthened. The Spaniards had repaired the ruined parts of the walls, built additional parapets in exposed places, included the suburbs in the fortifications ; drawn barriers and trenches across the principal streets, and made loopholes in the houses ; so that even were the ramparts gained, the enemy would still have a formidable task before them. General Doyle had ably superintended the fortifications ; a large quantity of English muskets had been distributed among the inhabitants ; abundance of ammunition and provisions had been stored up ; the magazines seemed too solid to be affected by a bombardment. Trusting in the strength of these defences, and what they deemed still more efficacious, the protection of Our Lady of the Pillar, the peasants, as the French army approached, flocked through the gates in crowds ; unhappily bringing with them the seeds of a contagious malady, destined in the end to be more fatal than the enemy's sword.

The brave Palafox assumed without dispute the supreme authority. His orders for the public de-

fences were unhesitatingly obeyed. All the houses within 700 toises of the walls were demolished, and the materials used for the fortifications ; the groves and gardens of the city fell beneath the axe. Their zealous patriotism was prepared for every sacrifice. All were actively employed ; the women made clothes for the soldiers, and the monks cartridges : those not employed in the lines of defence practised the use of arms. Each exhorted his neighbour to noble deeds ; religious processions frequently traversed the streets ; the glory of the former siege was called to mind ; terrible threats were made against cowardice, and some suspected traitors were instantly executed.

The united corps of Marshals Moncey and Mortier, amounting to 50,000 men, with a battering train of 60 pieces, appeared before the walls on the 20th of December. A fortified outpost was speedily carried by the French, the garrison having withdrawn into the city ; an assault upon the suburbs in the same quarter though at first successful, was repulsed with great slaughter by Palafox, who hurried to the spot, and by his example did much to restore the day. For a short time after this all was quiet without. The defenders were busily engaged in completing the fortifications ; they strove to strengthen every possible point of attack. On the 30th Mortier proposed an honourable capitulation, telling them that Madrid had been taken, and that Napoleon was driving the British back to their ships ; the governor nobly replied, that if Madrid had fallen, it must have been sold, but that the ramparts of Saragossa were untouched, and rather than capitulate, they would be buried beneath its ruins. The French now invested the place on both sides of the river, and having advanced their paral-

lels, opened a heavy fire upon the walls, chiefly directed against the Augustine Convent, that of the Capuchins, and Santa Engracia.

On the 2nd January, Marshal Junot assumed the command of the besiegers. The Spaniards made almost daily sorties, but without any sensible success, though many a bloody contest took place. The French had now gained all the fortified places without the walls, their cannon soon levelled the feeble parapets ; but the Spanish gunners piled up bags of earth, which were replaced so soon as shattered by the enemy's shot. After much trouble the French effected the passage of the Fluera ; the efforts of the besieged were therefore confined to the town ; breaching, and counter-batteries mounting 50 guns, now played against the body of the place. Still the citizens obstinately contested every inch of ground ; their spirits were raised by rumours of the defeats the French had sustained in other parts of the Peninsula. Truly they stood in need of this encouragement, contagious malady was working fearful havoc among the numbers who were driven into crowded cellars to escape the enemy's bombardment.

Marshal Lannes was now sent by Napoleon to prosecute the siege more vigorously. The attacks were made with fiercer energy, and masses of troops co-operating with each other advanced to the onset. The trenches were slowly carried ; the terrible fire of the heavy artillery ceased not ; on the 29th, four breaches were declared practicable. That night four columns marched to the assault. The Saragossans were aroused by the tolling of the great bell ; as the French made their way through the breaches, they were met by crowds of the defenders rushing from the trenches to attack them. But

such was the vigour with which they fought, that three of the columns established themselves, in spite of a murderous fire from the Spaniards. The ramparts of the city became the first line of the French trenches. Nor was this the whole weight of their misfortunes. "The fever demon stalked through the streets like a destroying angel. The number of the dead was between 300 and 400 each day, besides the victims of war. The hospitals were too small to contain the hosts of patients; and the necessary medicines were exhausted. The burying grounds were choked with corpses; and large pits were dug in the streets, into which the dead were tossed indiscriminately. Heaps of bloated and putrescent bodies were piled against the churches, which were often struck by the shells; and the maimed and ghastly carcasses lay dispersed along the streets, a frightful spectacle of horror."

The walls of Saragossa were beaten to the ground, but "Saragossa herself remained erect; and as the broken girdle fell from the heroic city, the besiegers started at the view of her naked strength. The regular defences had indeed crumbled before the skill of the assailants, but the popular resistance was immediately called with all its terrors into action." The war was, as formerly, fought in the streets and houses, the alarm bell rang in every part of the city, and the inhabitants, assembling in crowds, filled the houses nearest to the lodgments made by the French. Additional traverses and barricades were erected in the principal streets; mines were prepared in the more open spaces; the communications from house to house were multiplied, till they formed a vast labyrinth whose intricate windings could only be traced by the weapons and the dead bodies of the defenders.

The assailants now determined also to put in requisition the slow but sure instruments of the mattock and the mine. In spite of many assaults from the inhabitants, they worked their way through some of the nearest houses. Underground galleries were pierced to avoid the batteries with which the Spaniards raked each street. Sometimes the defenders setting fire to some of the intervening houses, interposed a burning barrier between themselves and the enemy. "The fighting was incessant, a constant bombardment, the explosion of mines, the crash of falling buildings, clamorous shouts, and the constant echo of musketry deafened the ear, while volumes of smoke and dust clouded the atmosphere and lowered continually over the heads of the combatants, as hour by hour, the French with a terrible perseverance pushed forward their approaches to the heart of the miserable but glorious city." Priests and women took part in the heroic struggle, the former carried munitions, and gave ghostly succour to the dying, animating the soldiers both by word and example. The latter bore refreshments to their sons, husbands, or fathers; and sometimes when one of these was struck dead by their side, they seized his arms, and rushed to revenge his death.

Still the French gained ground; on the 1st of February they took the convents of St. Augustine and St. Mornica. An awful scene took place in the church. Every chapel, every column, every altar, became a point of defence; the pavement was covered with blood, the aisles and nave were peopled with the dead; the roof, broken by bombs, fell in. The survivors fought over the bodies of the dead and dying. The assailants next strove to penetrate into the Cosso. Each house, each room,

became the stage of mortal combat ; the dead bodies were piled several feet above ground : upon this ghastly scaffolding the combat went on with such obstinacy that neither side gained ground for several hours ; at times, by the explosion of the mines beneath, the whole dead, dying, and combatants, were blown into the air together. Even the ruined walls caused by these dreadful catastrophes gave no defence to the French ; for the unerring aim of the Arragonese marksmen brought down from windows, and loopholes, every Frenchman seen dimly among the ruins. To avoid this the French diminished their charges of powder, to blow up the interior of the houses only, leaving the outer walls standing ; through these they came in to new attacks, and pushed through fresh passages. Still they could not force from the Spaniards the convents and churches : the besieged often made successful sallies, and met them with countermines. The French began almost to despair of conquering this heroic city ; they found each house a citadel, each street drenched with blood, each success bought by enormous carnage. The ranks were broken by the immense number of the wounded and sick ; it seemed as though the blackened ruins would be their tomb.

The situation of the Spaniards was now terrible indeed. In the middle of February several thousands died of pestilence, or were cut down by the shot or the sword every day. The charnel-houses and receptacles of every kind were full of corpses : " the living and the dead were shut up together in subterraneous abodes, while the roar of artillery, the explosion of mines, the crash of falling houses, the flames of conflagration, the shouts and shrieks

of the combatants, shook the city night and day without intermission over their heads."

"On the 18th a general assault was ordered to take place, and the French at the right attack having opened a party wall by the explosion of a petard, made a sudden rush through some burning ruins, and carried without a check the island of houses laying down the quay, with the exception of two buildings. The Spaniards were thus forced to abandon all the external fortifications between St. Augustine and the Ebro, which they had preserved until that day. And whilst this assault was in progress, the mines under the university, containing 3000lbs. of powder, were sprung, and the walls tumbling with a terrific crash, a column of the besiegers entered the place; and, after one repulse, secured a lodgment. During this time, 50 pieces of artillery thundered upon the suburbs, and ploughed up the bridge over the Ebro, and by mid-day opened a practicable breach in the great convent of St. Lazar, which was the principal defence on that side. Lannes, observing that the Spaniards seemed to be shaken by this overwhelming fire, immediately ordered an assault; and St. Lazar being carried forthwith, all retreat to the bridge was thus intercepted, and the besieged falling into confusion, and their commander, Baron Versage, being killed, were all destroyed or taken, with the exception of two or three hundred men, who, braving the terrible fire to which they were exposed, got back into the town. General Gazen immediately occupied the abandoned works, and having thus cut off above 2000 men that were stationed on the Ebro, above the suburbs, forced them also to surrender.

"This important success being followed on the



19th by another fortunate attack on the right bank of the Ebro, and by the devastating explosion of 1600lbs. of powder, the constancy of the besieged was at last shaken. An aid-de-camp of Palafox came forth to demand certain terms, before offered by the Marshal, adding thereto that the garrison should be allowed to join the Spanish armies ; and that a certain number of covered carriages should follow them. Lannes rejected these proposals, and the fire continued ; but the hour of surrender was come : 50 pieces of artillery, on the left bank of the Ebro, laid the houses on the quay in ruins. The church of Our Lady of the Pillar, under whose especial protection the city was supposed to exist, was nearly effaced by the bombardment ; and the six mines under the Cosso, loaded with many thousand pounds of powder, were ready for simultaneous explosion ; which would have laid a quarter of the remaining houses in the dust. In fine, war had done its work ; and the misery of Saragossa could no longer be endured.

“The bombardment, which had never ceased from the 10th of January, had forced the women and children to take refuge in the vaults, with which the city abounded. There the constant combustion of oil, the closeness of the atmosphere, unusual diet, and fear and restlessness of mind, combined to produce a pestilence which soon spread to the garrison. The strong and weak, the daring soldier and the timid child fell before it alike ; and such was the state of the atmosphere, and the disposition to disease, that the slightest wound gangrened, and became incurable. In the beginning of February, the deaths were from 300 to 400 daily : the living were unable to bury the dead ; and thousands of carcasses scattered about the

streets and court-yards, or piled in heaps at the doors of the churches, were left to dissolve in their own corruption, or to be licked up by the flames of the burning houses, as the defence became contracted.”\*

“On the 21st of February, 12,000 men, pale, emaciated, and livid in hue, marched out, and having surrendered their arms, which they had scarcely strength left to hold, to their courageous enemies, were sent to the besiegers’ camp, where they received the rations of which they were so much in need. The French troops then marched into the town; and never had such a spectacle before been exhibited in modern times. Six thousand dead bodies still lay unburied in the streets, among the fragments of buildings, or around the churches: half the houses were in ruins, infants were striving in vain to get nutriment from their dying mothers; from the vaults and subterraneous rooms, a few squalid persons of both sexes, like ghosts, were issuing, drawing corpses, hardly distinguishable but by their stillness from the objects that bore them: the pestilence spread almost visibly from those living charnel-houses alike on friend and foe around. There perished during the siege 54,000 men; of whom only 6,000 were killed by the sword or fire of the enemy; the awful plague had carried off the rest. Of the sick 10,000, most part in a dying state, encumbered the town when hostilities ceased, and filled every quarter with woe. The French had 3,000 killed and 12,000 wounded during the struggle. Fifty days of open trenches had been borne by a town defended only by a single wall; half that time the contest had continued with more than 40,000 besiegers after that feeble de-

\* Napier’s Peninsular War.

fence had fallen, and the town, in a military sense, was taken : 33,000 cannon shot, and 16,000 bombs had been thrown into the place ; yet at the close of the siege the assailants had only mastered one fourth of the town ; thirteen convents and churches had been taken, but forty remained to be forced. It was domestic pestilence, not foreign arms, which subdued Saragossa. Modern Europe has not so memorable a siege to recount ; and to the end of the world, even after Spain and France have sunk before the waves of time, and all the glories of modern Europe have passed away, it will stand forth in undecaying lustre a monument of heroic devotion, which will thrill the hearts of the brave and the generous in every succeeding age.”\*

After the siege of Saragossa, the re-conquest of Portugal was the object of the French. Soult, appointed governor of the country, received orders to invade it from the north ; while Victor from the south, and Lapisse from Ciudad Rodrigo, were ordered to act with him. Soult had intended to advance direct upon Oporto, after crossing the Minho near its mouth ; but this plan he was compelled to abandon in consequence of the armed peasantry : he was therefore obliged to take a considerable circuit, defeating, however, Romana in his way ; a delay which was of great import, considering that Portugal could have offered but comparatively a feeble resistance. It was the 10th of March before he entered by the western province of Trás os Montes. The French made the resistance of the peasantry and irregular troops of Silveira a pretext for military severity and abandoned licence, which afterwards excited the wronged and irritated Portuguese to make bloody reprisals.

\* Alison's French Revolution, Vol. VII.

On the 29th Soult stormed Oporto. A scene of dreadful carnage ensued after the assault. The cavalry charged through the streets, slaughtering the inhabitants without regard to age or sex. Terrified by the sight of such horrors, the people fled in crowds to the bridge, but there they were met by showers of grape and musketry. Some tried to cross in boats, but were fired on; 3,000 citizens were here either drowned or shot. The slaughter would have been greater, had not Soult exerted himself to end the savage cruelty of his soldiers.

But Oporto was to be the limits of Soult's conquests. Behind him Romana, who had rallied his constantly-increasing army, found Ney full employment; and Silveira was still master of Trás os Montes. In the south Victor could not invade Alentejo till he should have defeated Cuesta and the Estramaduran army; and Lapisse could not make himself master of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was defended chiefly by Sir Robert Wilson with his Lusitanian legion.

The plan first adopted by Sir R. Wilson of improving the Portuguese soldiers by placing over them British officers, worked so well, and was so much approved of by the authorities, that the Prince of Brazil sent General Beresford a commission as Field-Marshal and Generalissimo of the Portuguese army. Some reinforcements also had arrived from England; and Sir J. Cradock, commander at Lisbon, had under him about 14,000 men. Colonel Trant also commanded a promiscuous body of Portuguese troops at Coimbra. All these considerations deterred Soult from advancing further unsupported.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed Commander in Portugal—His plans—Passage of the Douro—Soult's Situation—Obstacles in Sir A. Wellesley's way—Jourdan's advance—Battle of Talavera—Effects of the Victory—Difficulties—Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeds to Badajoz—Preparations for the defence of Portugal.

SUCH was the state of affairs when Sir Arthur Wellesley, invested with the supreme command in Portugal, arrived at Lisbon on the 22nd of April, 1809, that it seemed as though a complication of difficulties presented themselves, which only a master-mind could surmount. The patriot armies had sustained repeated defeats, and their undisciplined bravery could not cope with large masses of experienced and veteran troops: that deliverance which her own children had been unable to work out, was to be procured for the Peninsula by the genius and skilful arrangements of Britain's great military chief. His arrival constituted a new era in the war. His presiding authority gave unity of action and purpose to the British forces and those of their allies, and seemed to end the jealousies and divisions, which had weakened the strength, and paralyzed the efforts of the friends of freedom.

Believing that the numerical superiority of the French was neutralized by the separation of their corps, Sir Arthur Wellesley determined upon moving boldly against Soult at Oporto, satisfied that no communication could exist between his army and that of Victor. Wellesley's plan was, first, if possible, to free the north of Portugal, and then returning to the Tagus as speedily as he could, to fa..

upon the army of Victor. In case this latter general should meditate an attack upon Lisbon, two British battalions, and two regiments of cavalry, with 8,000 Portuguese, were arranged along the right bank of the Tagus ; possession was taken of the flying bridges of Abrantes and Villa Velha, and a body of troops posted at Alcantara, under Colonel Mayne, with orders to blow up the bridge there, should he be compelled to retreat in consequence of the French advancing. Cuesta was next informed of the British plan of operations, and requested to keep Victor in check, till the English returned from Oporto, when the two armies might combine, and act in concert to the south of the Tagus.

In pursuance of this able plan, the British army reached Coimbra on the 2nd of May, where the inhabitants greeted them with shouts, illuminations, and bonfires ; Sir A. Wellesley in particular being hailed with great enthusiasm. Here the allied army was concentrated, and divided into seven brigades of the line ; two of German infantry, one of guards, and one of light cavalry, including four battalions of Portuguese ; besides 6,000 under Marshal Beresford. Meanwhile Soult was in difficulties ; around him were enemies, in his own camp even were traitors. He was desirous of securing a retreat to Spain. Silveira occupied the bridge of Amarante, a strong position on the very road of the French ; orders were given to Laborde and Loison to secure this at any price ; the post was bravely maintained from the 18th to the 30th of April ; during which time, the French were repulsed in daily attacks, and the Portuguese fought in the streets of Amarante, from behind the piles of dead bodies. Colonel Patrick, a brave and skilful officer, was killed. On

the 2nd of May, Soult, who had come up in person, forced the position ; having as he imagined thus secured his retreat, he returned to Oporto.

While General Beresford advanced from Coimbra, Sir Arthur proceeded to the Douro as quickly as possible, and gained it after a few skirmishes. He had determined to cross this river, and drive the enemy from Oporto at once. While therefore Generals Murray and Sherbrooke were detached to different ferries, Sir Arthur, with the main body, resolved to cross near the convent of Sarca which overlooked the town. At eight o'clock the British columns were assembled behind the heights on which this building stands. They lay on the ground with their arms ready. The Douro is here 300 yards broad, and flows with a rapid stream. "Let a boat be found," said Wellesley to his staff. Colonel Waters found a skiff which crossed from the city in the night, concealed at a bend in the river, behind some bushes ; he persuaded some peasants that stood by to accompany him, and evading the French patrols, succeeded in bringing over three or four barges from the opposite shore. At ten o'clock Sir Arthur was informed that a boat was ready. "Well, let the men cross," was his brief order ; an officer, and 25 soldiers of the Buffs, crossed over, and speedily took possession of an unoccupied building, called the seminary. Other boats were quickly despatched by the zeal of the people, and the embarkation went rapidly on.

General Paget was among the first ; three companies were now over, but scarcely had the last of these reached the bank, when the drums and trumpets of the enemy sounded an alarm ; troops hurried out, and made a violent attack upon the small body of men opposed to them. They defended the

post with great gallantry, till they were strengthened by the 48th, 68th, and a Portuguese battalion. General Paget lost an arm, and General Hill, who assumed the command, was still maintaining a severe contest, when the brigade of guards and the 29th, appeared on the right of the French ; and on their left troops were pressing from Avenas. The enemy's columns were driven back in confusion. The British charged up the streets, and made many prisoners. They were received by the inhabitants with great joy ; handkerchiefs waved from the balconies and windows ; and blessings were poured forth on their brave deliverers.

Had the English army been able to take advantage of the panic of the enemy, their retreating columns must have been almost cut to pieces ; this unhappily could not be done, and the troops were so fatigued, that some period of repose was necessary. Still, however, the crossing of the Douro, in the face of a powerful enemy, was a bold and brilliant action, and one that added lustre to Wellesley's military fame. The action on his side, was comparatively bloodless, only 20 men being killed, and 95 wounded ; the French had 500 killed and wounded ; five guns were taken in the flight ; a quantity of ammunition, and fifty guns were found in the arsenal. That night, Oporto was brilliantly illuminated, and the sounds of rejoicing were heard in its streets. Sir Arthur Wellesley's first act was to take measures for the protection of the prisoners from the fury of the Portuguese : a proclamation enjoining mercy to the French that might fall into their hands, was issued the very next morning. Sir Arthur took up his quarters in the house which had been occupied by the French general ; and a dinner which had that day been prepared for Soult, was served up to him.



Pressed on all sides, Soult only escaped after sacrificing his artillery, baggage, and military chest, by rugged mountain paths ; and by a movement to the left, avoided Chaves, where the Portuguese awaited his approach. On his way he was subjected to much annoyance from the peasantry, who fired from every height and defile. On the 6th, the British vanguard came up with Soult's rear, which was stationed at Salamonde, to cover the passage over the Saltador ; one volley drove them from their position ; the English guns opened a discharge, and they fell in great numbers. The bridge was choked up with bodies ; the dead were strewn on the rocks around ; and wounded men and horses fell into the gulf. The French, mortified and enraged, plundered and burnt the villages on their way, and murdered the peasants, many of whom the British found hung up by the road side. Just vengeance was exacted of them, every straggler from the line was cut off without mercy. The British could not overtake Soult :—" If an army," says Sir Arthur in his despatches, " throws away every thing, and abandons all those who are entitled to its protection, but impede its progress, it must obviously be enabled to march through roads where it cannot be overtaken by an enemy who has not made the same sacrifices." Soult lost from 7,000 to 8,000 men, a third of his army ; with these losses he pushed across the frontier ; and important objects recalled Sir Arthur Wellesley to the south.

Thus, in the space of ten days, was this brief but brilliant campaign, so fruitful in results, concluded. The passage of the Douro was a master-stroke ; yet it has been well observed that, strictly speaking, it was one of those felicitous aberrations from military rule which it occasionally belongs to high genius to

make, and which men of common minds would have unsuccessfully attempted. To see and take advantage of these cases of exception, however, let it be remembered, is the exclusive attribute of a powerful and original mind.

But Sir Arthur Wellesley's plan was impeded by many obstacles. The Spanish chiefs, owing to various reasons, were very far from co-operating efficiently with the British; and did not keep the French in check till Sir Arthur could return; so that though the Spaniards had two organized armies under Vanegas and Cuesta, yet Victor was enabled to fall back upon the corps of Joseph and Sebastiani. This unfortunate failure rendered nearly nugatory all the efforts of the British; while, had those generals done their duty, the result would have been widely different; the capital would have been taken, and the British army would have found no difficulty in procuring sustenance. This distress was now severely felt. The Spanish commissariat was in a most wretched state; our own was but beginning, by the active exertions of the commander, to become a little efficient, and was interfered with by that of our allies, while by our excessive scrupulousness and delicacy, which the Spaniards did not know how to appreciate, even all the available resources were not made use of. Thus a proper search at Talavera would have discovered large supplies of grain, sufficient for both armies, at a time when the British suffered much from want of bread, and means of transport.

On the 7th of June, the British troops encamped on the south of the Tagus. Sickness was prevalent among them, and they daily lost some men; they remained stationary at Abrantes till nearly the end of the month, and one favourable opportunity glided

by after another, but still Sir Arthur, who was fully aware of this pernicious delay, had the mortification of being compelled to remain where he was ; almost without money, could not obtain supplies from the country, and was destitute of the means of transport either by land or water. The men were without shoes, the officers and soldiers without pay, and unable to procure the necessaries of life ; and the hospitals were crowded. Though reinforcements had come, he had only 22,000 men under arms ; a force too limited to allow of extensive and decided operations. Occasions afterwards repeatedly occurred during the war, in which the same hurtful irregularity existed in providing for the pay of the troops and the demand of the commissariat. But all these obstacles, which would have paralyzed an ordinary man, overcame not the skill and genius of Wellesley ; yet from his despatches we know, that to a man of his public integrity and great regard for probity and good faith to all parties, and who felt the greatest desire, as their protector and commander, that his soldiers, for the sake of justice and discipline, should have their pay regularly, this neglect caused not only much inconvenience, but the deepest regret. The army on their part behaved, everything being considered, well ; they entertained no apprehensions concerning the liquidations of their claims, and they were fully conscious that their commander would do them all the justice in his power.

We have already mentioned that one of Sir A. Wellesley's main difficulties consisted in securing the co-operation of the Spanish generals, particularly Cuesta, a brave and honest, but most bigotted and obstinate leader. Their armies were like the commanders, a motley and ill-disciplined horde of peasants, crowded in battalions ; ill-appointed with

arms, ill-clothed, and slow in their movements ; with plenty of artillery, which they did not know how to use with effect.

At the end of June the British commenced their march into Spain, with a view to join Cuesta, and commence active operations upon Madrid, which was defended by at least 50,000 French. Victor's force was posted at Talavera de la Reyna, and Cuesta's at Almaraz. The British army marched up the valley of the Tagus, a route not free from danger ; for on the left, beyond the mountains, lay Soult and Ney. These required to be guarded against, and accordingly Sir Arthur committed to Beresford the defence of Puerto Perales, and urged the Spaniards also to direct their attention to this point. This Cuesta was with difficulty prevailed upon to consent to, and the force eventually sent was inadequate.

Cuesta likewise promised to secure provisions for the British, while on their advance. At Oropesa a junction was formed with his main body, and on the 22nd, the advance continued, and the enemy were driven across the Alberche, where Victor drew up his army in position. Sir Arthur Wellesley wished to attack him next day : Cuesta refused, and, obstinate and lethargic, fell asleep during the conference. The promises which he had made to supply the troops with provisions also proved to be vain ; and Sir Arthur was obliged to inform him that unless his demands were answered, he could not consent that his troops should advance to a greater distance from their resources. The Spaniard persisted in moving alone ; and on the 26th his van was driven back by the enemy, and his army only saved by a brave charge of the Duke de Albu-

querpue's division, so that without much damage he fell back again to the Alberche, where a British force was stationed to support him. Cuesta, though the ground was low and unfavourable, determined to meet the enemy here ; Sir Arthur hastening to dissuade him from his rashness, found the general asleep in his tent, and his army in confusion ; the British commander's arguments were vain ; Cuesta was only convinced of his madness when he saw the British troops withdrawn, and was glad once more to unite with them.

No sooner had intelligence of the movements of the allied armies reached Madrid, than King Joseph, with Marshal Jourdan, his major-general, advanced from the capital with all his disposable force ; uniting with Victor and Sebastiani near Toledo. Marshal Soult was likewise ordered to join Ney and Mortier ; these combined forces were rapidly to march on Placentia, and cut off the British retreat. An army of 50,000 men was before Sir Arthur Wellesley, and more than that number in his rear. To defeat this combination required no ordinary talents and bravery : to extricate the army from its perilous position vigour and promptitude were indispensable. In consequence of the failure of the Spaniards in supporting, retreat would have been almost inevitable, had not the enemy, instead of standing on the defensive, resolved to attack the allied armies. We shall extract Alison's spirited and vigorous account of the great battle of Talavera which followed.

" The English general had only two brigades in pursuit of the enemy beyond the Alberche, having already begun to experience that pressing want of provisions and the means of transport, which soon

had such important effects on the issue of the campaign. The whole allied army took post at Talavera, in a battle field well calculated by the diversity of its character, for the various qualities of the troops which were there to combat for the independence of the Peninsula. On the right, the dense, but disorderly array of the Spaniards, with their flank resting on the Tagus, occupied the town and environs of Talavera, with the olive woods, intersected with enclosures, which lay all along its front, filled with light troops, and their numerous artillery planted on an advantageous position along the front of their line, and commanding all the avenues by which it could be approached. Far beyond the enclosures, the British stood in the open field, on the uneven ground which extended from the olive woods to the foot of the hills, forming the first range of the Sierra de Montalban. A deep ravine, in the bottom of which flowed the Portina rivulet, lay at the foot of these hills, and formed the extreme British left; the streamlet turning sharp round, and winding through its way to the Tagus at Talavera, ran across the front of the whole allied line. On the heights, on one side of it, the French were placed in a strong position, with their batteries on the right, placed on some lofty heights overlooking a great part of the field of battle. Right opposite to them stood the British line, on a similar ridge of eminences, and their guns also sweeping the open slope by which they were to be ascended. In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding hillock or mount, on which the English had begun to construct a redoubt, and in which some Spanish guns were placed; it was evident, that on its possession, the fate of

the approaching battle would in a great degree depend.\*

"About three o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th, (July, 1809) Victor's advanced guards approached the British outposts, stationed beyond the Portina streamlet, and immediately commenced an attack. Some of the English regiments, which had then seen fire for the first time, were thrown into confusion by the suddenness of the onset, and Wellington, who was with the advanced posts, narrowly escaped being made prisoner; while 10,000 Spaniards who were on the right, were so alarmed by the French light cavalry riding up to them, and discharging their pistols, that they broke after a single

\* The exact French and Allied forces at Talavera, as obtained by Kausler, from the War Office at Paris, was as follows:—

| FRENCH.                                   |        |       |
|-------------------------------------------|--------|-------|
|                                           | Men.   | Guns. |
| Royal Guards .....                        | 5,000  |       |
| Victor's corps, infantry and artillery..  | 18,890 |       |
| Cavalry .....                             | 3,781  | 30    |
| Sebastian's corps, infantry and artillery | 17,100 | 30    |
| Cavalry .....                             | 3,670  |       |
| Reserve divisions, infantry and artillery | 7,681  | 20    |
| 75 Battalions, 3 Squadrons ....           | 56,122 | 80    |
| ALLIES.                                   |        |       |
|                                           | Men.   | Guns. |
| British Infantry, (28½ battalions) ....   | 16,663 | 30    |
| Artillery, Engineers, &c. ....            | 1,287  |       |
| Cavalry .....                             | 3,047  |       |
|                                           | 20,997 |       |
| Spanish infantry and artillery .....      | 33,000 | 70    |
| Cavalry .....                             | 6,000  |       |
|                                           | 59,997 | 100   |

discharge of their muskets, and flying tumultuously several miles to the rear, gave out that all was lost. Wellington, however, brought up some veteran troops to the scene of danger, and checked the disorder ; while at the same time, the British advanced posts, covered by the brave 45th regiment, and 5th battalion of the 60th, retired to the position of the main body on the other side of the stream. Encouraged by this success, Victor, as night approached, was induced to hazard an attack on the English left, stationed on their line of heights, and for this purpose Ruffin was ordered to charge with his division, supported by Vitalle, while Lapisse fell on the German Legion on their right, so as to prevent assistance being rendered from the other parts of the line. The forces which thus were brought into action by the French, were above 20,000 men, and the assault was so quick and vigorous, that though Colonel Donkin gallantly repulsed the corps which attacked his front, his left flank was at the same moment turned, by several French battalions, who, having advanced unperceived through the valley, suddenly appeared with loud shouts on the heights in his rear. General Hill, however, with the 29th regiment, charged them without an instant's delay, and immediately bringing up other battalions, formed a convex front facing outwards, which effectually covered the British left ; for Lapisse, soon after opened a heavy fire on the German Legion on the right ; and fresh battalions of Ruffin's division emerging from the hollow, resolutely advanced to storm the heights on the left. It was now dark : the opposing lines approached to within 30 yards of each other ; and the frequent flashes of the musketry enabled the dauntless antagonists to discern each other's visages



through the gloom. For a few minutes the event seemed doubtful ; but soon the loud cheer of the British soldiers was heard above the receding roar of the musketry, the French fell back in disorder into the hollow, while Lapisse drew off on the right ; and the soldiers, on either side, worn out with fatigue, sunk into sleep around the fires of their bivouacs.

“ Not discouraged by this bloody repulse, which cost him above 800 of his best troops, Victor, contrary to the opinion of Jourdan, who contended strenuously that all the offensive operations should be suspended till Soult was sufficiently near to threaten the enemy's communications, prevailed on Joseph to permit him to renew the battle on the following morning. The centre of the British being deemed too strong, by reason of the ravine which covered their front, it was determined to renew the attack on the heights on the left. At eight o'clock, Ruffin's division again advanced to the attack, supported by Villatte's, and the French troops with an intrepid step ascended to the summit of the hill, while the artillery on both sides kept up a vehement fire, and soon made frightful chasms in the opposing ranks. Having gallantly made their way to the summit, the French instantly closed with Hill's division, and for half an hour a desperate struggle took place, in the course of which Hill himself was wounded, and his men were falling fast : but the French loss was still greater ; insensibly their line gave ground, and at length being forced back to the edge of the slope, the whole broke, and were hurried in wild disorder to the foot of the hill. Fearful, from these repeated attacks, that the enemy would at length succeed in turning his left, Wellington placed his cavalry at the

entrance of the valley, obtained from Cuesta the succour of Bassecourt's division, which was stationed on the hills beyond its outer side ; and guns to reinforce Hill's batteries, which were bravely served by the Spanish gunners, and rendered good service during the remainder of the day.

"The extreme heat of the day, now for a few hours suspended the combat, during which the lines were re formed on both sides, the ammunition wag-gons replenished, and the wounded withdrawn to the rear. In this interval, Joseph held a Council of War, in which Jourdan again renewed his advice that they should retire to the Alberche, and Victor urged that they should recommence the attack. The latter prevailed, chiefly in consequence of the arrival of a courier from Soult, announcing that he could not arrive at Placentia till the 4th of August, and the threatening advance of Venegas, who was already near Aranjuez. Meanwhile, the troops on either part, overcome by thirst, straggled down in great numbers to the streamlet which ran at the bottom of the ravine which separated the two armies : not a shot was fired, nor a drum was beat ; peaceably the foemen drank from the opposite banks of the same rill ; and not unfrequently the hands which had so recently before been dyed in mutual slaughter, were extended and shaken across the water in token of their admiration of the valour and constancy displayed on both sides. Wellington meanwhile was seated on the grass on the top of the hill which had been so obstinately contested, eagerly surveying the enemy's movements, which indicated a renewal of the conflict with redoubled forces along the whole line. At this moment Colonel Donkin rode up to him, charged with a message from the Duke of Albuquerque, that

Cuesta was betraying him. Calmly continuing his survey, Wellington desired Donkin to return to his brigade ! In a few minutes a rolling of drums was heard along the French line ; the broad, black masses of the enemy appeared full in view ; and, preceded by the fire of 80 pieces of artillery, 50,000 men advanced to the attack.

“ The French columns came down their side of the ravine at a rapid pace, and though a little disordered by crossing the stream, mounted the opposite hill with the utmost intrepidity. On the extreme British right, Sebastiani's corps fell with the utmost fury on General Campbell's division, and by their loud cries, indicated the confidence of immediate victory ; but their attack was in column, and the English were in line ; and then the inherent vice of that arrangement became at once apparent. The British regiments which stood against the front of the mass, drawn up three deep, kept up an incessant rolling fire on the enemy ; while those on either side, inclining forwards and directing their fire against both flanks of the column, soon occasioned so frightful a carnage, that even the intrepidity of the imperial veterans sunk under the trial, and they broke and fell into confusion. On rushed Campbell's division, supported by two regiments of Spanish infantry and one of cavalry, who were inspired with unwonted steadiness by the example of their allies ; and pushing the disorganized mass before them, completed their discomfiture, and took ten pieces of cannon. At the same time, Ruffin and Villatte's divisions were descried marching across the valley on the enemy's extreme right, in order to turn by the foot of the Sierra de Montalban, that blood-stained hill, which they had in vain sought to carry by assault. Wellington immediately ordered

the 1st German hussars, and 23rd dragoons to charge the column in the bottom of the valley. On they went at a canter, but soon came to a hollow cleft which lay right across their path, and which it seemed impossible to cross.

"The veteran German, Arenstcheld, with characteristic coolness, reined up his men on the edge of the hollow ; but Seymour, at the head of the 23rd, with true English hardihood, plunged headlong down, and though half of his men fell over each other in the wild confusion, at the bottom, where Seymour was wounded, the survivors, under Ponsonby, coming up by twos and threes, charged right on, and disregarding the fire of Villatte's columns, through which they passed, fell with inexpressible fury on Stroltz's brigade of chasseurs in the rear, which, unable to resist the shock, opened its ranks to let them through. The heroic British dragoons, however, after this marvellous charge, were assailed, when blown and disordered by success, by a regiment of Polish Lancers and a body of Westphalian light horse, and broken with great slaughter ; the survivors, not half of those who went into action, found shelter on the broken ground behind Bassecourt's division of Spanish infantry, on the mountains beyond.

"While these terrible conflicts were going on in the two wings of the army, the centre, where Sherbrooke commanded, and the German Legion and Guards were placed, was exposed to a still severer trial. The great batteries, mounting 50 guns, which there stood right opposite to the British line, at the distance of only half a cannon-shot, made fearful chasms in their ranks ; and the English guns, greatly inferior both in number and weight of metal, could make no adequate reply. Under

cover of this fearful storm, Lapiasse's division crossed the ravine in their front, and ascending the opposite hill concealed by the smoke, got close to the British line, and already set up the shout of victory. They were received, however, by a close and well-directed volley, followed by a general rush with the bayonet, which instantly threw the assailants back in great confusion ; and the guards following fast on their heels, not only drove them down the hill, but crossed the rivulet at the bottom, and were soon seen in disorderly array, streaming up the opposite bank. Here, however, they met the enemy's reserve, who advanced in close order through the throng ; powerful batteries, discharging grape, tore down whole ranks at every discharge, on one flank, and some regiments of cavalry threatened the other. The guards, thus sorely pressed, gave way and fled in confusion ; the disorder quickly spread to the Germans on their flank, and the whole British centre appeared broken. The danger was imminent : but Wellington, who had foreseen the consequences of the gallant, but inconsiderate advance of the guards, had provided the means of restoring the combat. Instantly pushing forward the 48th regiment, which was in reserve, he directed it against the right flank of the French, who, in their turn, were somewhat disordered by success. When this gallant regiment got into the throng beyond the stream, it was so beset by the crowd of fugitives, that it became necessary to open the ranks to let them through ; but immediately closing again, it advanced in beautiful array against the flank of the pursuing French, and, by a destructive volley compelled them to halt. The guards and Germans immediately rallied, faced about, and renewed their fire, and Cotton's brigade of light

cavalry having come up on the other flank at the same time, the advance of the French was effectually checked in the centre. This was their last effort. Their columns now drew off in good order, and retired across the Alberche, three miles in the rear, which was passed in the night. Shortly after the firing ceased, a frightful incident occurred : the grass, dried by the excessive heat, accidentally took fire, and spreading rapidly over part of the field, scorched cruelly numbers of the wounded of both armies.

“ Such was the glorious battle of Talavera, the first for a century past in which the English had been brought to contend on a great scale with the French ; and which in its lustre equalled, in its ultimate effects exceeded, the far famed days of Cressy and Azincour. 22,000 British had engaged for two successive days, and finally defeated above 40,000 French, for the aid which the Spaniards afforded in the battle was very trifling, and not more than 10,000 of the enemy, including the Kings’ guard, remained to watch their lines in the olive woods of Talavera, who never fired a shot. Seventeen pieces of cannon, several tumbrils, and some hundred prisoners, taken in fair fight, were proud trophies of this hard fought action. The loss on both sides was enormous ; but greater on that of the French than the British, owing to their much superior numbers and their system of attack in close column. The latter lost 6,268 in the two days : that of the French is now ascertained, from the returns in the War Office, to have been 8,794. ‘ This battle,’ says Jomine, ‘ at once restored the reputation of the British army, which during a century had declined. It was now ascertained that the English infantry could dispute the palm with the best in Europe.’

In vain the mercantile spirit, which looks for gain in every transaction, and the virulence of faction, which has ever accompanied the noblest events in history, fastened on this far-famed field, complained of the subsequent retreat, and asked for durable results from the laurels of Talavera. These cold or selfish calculations were answered by the exulting throb of every British heart; the results asked for were found in the subsequent glorious career and long continued security of England. Far from every generous bosom be that frigid spirit which would measure the importance of events only by their immediate gains, and estimate at nothing the lasting effect of elevation of national feeling. Character is the true strength of nations: historic glory is their best inheritance, when the time shall come that the British heart no longer thrills at the name of Talavera, its fruit will indeed be lost, for the last hour of British empire will have struck.\*

When the British army entered Talavera, they saw sufficient evidence of the havoc and destruction caused by the French army. All the public buildings of the place had been destroyed; the tombs had been violated and rifled, the altars of the churches overturned; and half the houses were in ruins. They had carried off the chairs, tables, and other furniture to their camp, where, after the manner of their nation, they had established a theatre. They had built huts for the soldiers, and thatched them with straw unthrashed. An officer stated in his journal, that near the village of Casalagos they found the bodies of two Spaniards recently slain; one, having been found with arms in his hands, had been burnt to death by the French, and lay with

\* Allison's History of Europe, Vol. VII.

his arms lifted up, his hands clenched, and his features distorted, his whole frame having stiffened in one dreadful expression of agony !

The general plan of this campaign has by some been objected to as involving too great risks ; but, by universal concession, during the whole of it, Wellesley's skill, promptitude, and unhesitating self-reliance, were conspicuously manifested. The position he took up against the French at the battle, was admirably selected ; and his manœuvres during it, were those of a great general who perceives and is resolved to improve the advantages he has gained. In short, the whole could only have been planned by a most energetic and vigorous mind.

The glorious victory of Talavera, though it added a fresh triumph to the many which the British army had gained, yet in certain respects did not improve the prospects of our troops. So far from having it in his power to follow it up, Sir Arthur Wellesley could scarcely procure assistance and support for his wounded men. Cuesta refused to send one of his divisions to attack a French convoy of provisions which might have fallen an easy prey ; he also withdrew his troops from Talavera, leaving the British hospitals unprotected. By great exertions and many sacrifices Sir Arthur collected forty cars, and with these brought off 2,000 of the wounded, though he was obliged to leave 1,500 of the worst cases in the hands of the French. Victor, to his honour, treated them with humanity.

Since the Spanish chiefs had not followed up the share allotted them in the arrangements of the campaign ; since they had sustained several decisive defeats ; and since the English army, deprived of the hearty aid and co-operation of the authorities,



found it impossible to procure support, it was quite evident that Sir Arthur Wellesley had done all that was in his power, and that "it was necessary he should withdraw into Portugal, as the locality particularly pointed out in his instructions." But his military chest was nearly empty, and it seemed as if the Spaniards were determined to leave their allies to starve. Lavish in promises, they were slow, and indeed unwilling in performance, and this too, when timely and abundant supplies might have enabled the English army to march straight upon the capital. From the period, when a junction had been formed with the Spanish forces, the British could never obtain more than half, sometimes not even the third of a full ration, and that composed of meat without salt, and flour, or grain instead of bread. The cavalry had to forage at a distance, and pick up subsistence wherever they could ; so that more than 1,000 horses were deficient, and the cattle had scarcely strength enough to drag the artillery. Great numbers of the officers and men fell sick, and from the bad quality of their food, and the want of any drink but water, dysentery was very prevalent. Sir Arthur accordingly left his position on the 20th August. "In communicating this step to the ministers at home, he stated that he had never been able to procure means of transport since his arrival in Spain ; that he was obliged to employ the largest proportion of carts in the army, whether they carried money or ammunition, to convey the wounded soldiers to the hospital at Elvas : that he was obliged to lay down a quantity of ammunition at Meza d'Ibor and Deleytosa, which was delivered to the Spanish general ; and that if he had waited longer, he could not have moved at all without leaving his sick behind : but he observed, that from the disper-

sed state of the French armies, and the losses they had sustained, the Spanish troops were not likely to suffer any inconvenience from the absence of the allies ; and that upon the frontier of Portugal he hoped to supply his distressed soldiers with every thing they might want." The French on their part resolved upon no offensive operations, but determined during the autumn and winter to employ their disposable force in subjugating the south of Spain.

The central junta now expressed their sense of Sir A. Wellesley's services, by nominating him a captain-general in the Spanish service, and presenting him with six Andalusian horses, in the name of King Ferdinand. These honours he accepted, (submitting his acceptance of them to the pleasure of his sovereign) but disinterestedly refused to take the pay attached to the rank conferred on him. Higher honours awaited him at home : as soon as news of his victory arrived, he was raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and Wellington in Somersetshire.

Shortly after the battle of Talavera, Marquis Wellesley superseded Mr. Frere as British ambassador. Though warmly greeted by the Spaniards, he also, like other discerning men, speedily perceived the ignorant incapacity and intriguing spirit of the junta. Indeed it is not too much to say that had not their evil influence been over-ruled, the Spanish cause would have been ruined. One thing was plain, that it would never do for the British to act in unison with the disorderly and unsteady levies of Spain.

On the march to Badajos, Lord Wellington was so much indisposed that for two days he had to tra-

vel in a carriage. In their cantonments, the British army now had food and rest ; but ague with intermittent fever was very prevalent among them. The number of deaths in one month was 700, in another 1300. This fever always prevails in that quarter during the autumn, and unfortunately the hospitals were not sufficiently supplied with bark, and other medicines, and the medical attendants deficient in number. Lord Wellington himself was attacked with it, but fortunately it soon left him.

About this time the Spanish contest began to assume a new feature, that of the guerilla warfare, which afterwards was such a scourge to the French. It soon became almost universal, for the people had now found their real strength. The invaders had hitherto defeated easily the Spanish armies ; they had now another enemy to struggle with. Assassinations and desperate skirmishes thinned their ranks ; each rock, each clump of trees, each ruin, furnished shelter to the marksman. As the peasant ploughed the soil his long gun lay in a furrow near him, he was ready to join any contest going on in his neighbourhood, or cut off any straggler that came near. The mountain passes were lined by these brave men. To lead and join these bands, "the priest girded up his black robe, and stuck pistols in his belt,—the student threw aside his books, and grasped a sword,—the shepherd forsook his flock—the husbandman his home."

To the guerilla or partizan warfare, the genius of the Spanish people, and the character of their country, were peculiarly suited ; and the resistance thus given to the French by scattered bands was more formidable, because far more difficult to keep down, than that of regular armies, which by a general action might be crushed. The Spaniard, calm, tem-

perate, hardy, veiling under a cold demeanour an ardent and fiery character, is capable of waiting long to gain an advantage, and is little discouraged by difficulty or defeat. In general a good shot, and able to handle skilfully the lance, sword, or dagger, the guerilla was formidable in ambush, and unencumbered with heavy accoutrements, and accustomed to the free air of the mountains, was more than a match even for veteran soldiers. Proof alike against promises and threats, the severities practised against them in fulfilment of menaces, only inflamed the spirit of public hostility, by that of private revenge, to which they are prone. These guerillas were led by various officers all well qualified for the task ;—some, men of high birth and education, others smugglers and peasants. All displayed the greatest gallantry : possessing perfect knowledge of the passes, fastnesses, woods, mountains, and wildernesses of the country, and receiving exact intelligence from the peasantry, they harassed the French incessantly, watched every movement, and cut off every weak detachment ; so that a courier was obliged to be attended by a large escort, “ nor could the intrusive King take the amusement of hunting, however near to his capital, unless, like Earl Percy in the ballad, attended by a guard of 1,500 men.” The numbers of these warriors varied ; some chief led little armies of 2,000 or more, while others, or the same under a reverse of fortune, headed only ten or twenty men. They seemed to baffle all pursuit ; when apparently surrounded they dispersed, and cut their way through in various quarters, or were traced only by the havoc they had caused. “ To chase them was to pursue the wind, and to circumvent them was to detain water with a sieve.”

On the 8th October, Lord Wellington went to Lisbon, and was absent from Badajoz till the end of the month. This visit had an important object in view : he carefully examined and surveyed the country in front of the capital, for the purpose of constructing the famous lines of Torres Vedras, by which he was enabled, with very inferior forces, to beat back the French, and stem the tide of invasion. He returned to head-quarters without disclosing his intention at that period, and soon after made another short journey. He accompanied Marquis Wellesley to Cadiz, on his embarkation for England. His remonstrances were now more effectual ; supplies and clothing were conveyed to the army : the weather also, though cold, was much improved, and the soldiers generally enjoyed good health. Their commander was much occupied at this period, by civil and other business ; yet he was duly careful of his own health, took relaxation and diversion, and daily went out to shoot upon the plains. One day of almost princely sport was held in the park of Villa Viciosa, a hunting place of the Portuguese kings ; one wild boar and twenty-five head of deer was the proceeds of the amusements. " Lord Wellington," says an observer, " was always gay and good-humoured with those about him, inspiring others with the same confidence which he evidently felt himself."

On the 15th December the army broke up its cantonments on the Guadiana, and removed to near the Coa. The French were now evidently preparing to invade Portugal, and already threatened the frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. While the army crossed the Tagus, Lord Wellington again visited Lisbon, and inspected the positions near the capital, and gave his final orders for the construc-

tion of the works, riding over the range of hills to select his line of defence. Having fixed the general points, and marked the outline, he committed the execution of his plans to Lieutenant Colonel Fletcher, a competent and able officer. The headquarters of the army was established at Vizen.

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## CHAPTER IX.

British head-quarters fixed at Vizen—Arrangement of the forces—Motions of Beresford and Hill—Junot advances upon Astorga—Battle of Busaco—Movements of the opposing armies—Portugal abandoned by the French—March to Lisbon—Sufferings of the Portuguese.

A ROYAL decree issued at Lisbon on the 23rd of November, 1809, and dated at Rio Janeiro, the July preceding, appointed Lord Wellington Marshal-General of the Portuguese army—enjoining the Regency to consult with him on important matters—and giving him the chief authority in military arrangements, together with considerable influence in civil and financial affairs. No chief had ever before shewn himself more deserving of such confidence from a foreign government; none, by the moral influence of his character, had given such security that it would be used aright. Throughout all his varied life, Wellington's conduct has ever been a model of perfect disinterestedness; his greatest opponent could never lay to his charge one act of rapacity, or needless severity; his virtues have been followed by blessed results—his laurels are pure and unstained.

With the confidence of a great mind, he took

upon himself the charge and heavy responsibility of defending Portugal, looking forward without dismay to the issue of the contest. He had the satisfaction to find that his suggestions were adopted, and that he enjoyed the good-will, and respect of all classes.

The Portuguese army, in all other respects but the commissariat, was rapidly assuming a new appearance, under the instructions of British officers—but that one evil was nearly enough to paralyze the efficiency of the whole; yet by Wellington's anxious endeavours, much was done to correct and ameliorate it.

We have already mentioned that the British head-quarters were at Vizen, on the 10th of January, 1810. The army was so stationed as to occupy the strong and rugged line of the Beira frontier; the troops were placed in cantonments with an especial view to the preservation of their health and discipline. In Catalonia, the Spaniards still met with reverses; Blake was defeated by Suchet with great loss—his artillery being taken, and 4,000 prisoners made. Gerona, however, sustained a noble defence against its besiegers; after six months' endurance of grievous suffering from famine, sickness, and the sword, its brave garrison were compelled to submit. The Spaniards had suffered more from the misfortune of Ocana, than from any previous defeat. The French were pressing vigorously upon them; they had forced the passes of the Sierra Morena, almost without resistance; occupied Andalusia, made their way into Seville, and had only been prevented from seizing Cadiz, by the able movements of the Duke de Alberquerque. The supreme junta had become highly unpopular, and were at length compelled to resign; they did not,

however, vacate their office until they had appointed a regency, and called upon the Cortes to assemble. The seat of the new government was necessarily fixed at Cadiz, almost the last asylum of Spanish liberty, and its authority scarcely extended beyond the isle of Leon ; for with the exception of Galicia in the north, and Valencia in the south, and Catalonia, where the enemy were seizing fortress after fortress, the French were, at least nominally, in possession of the Peninsula. Things might have been otherwise, if the English army, so ignobly and unprofitably wasted at Walcheren, had been sent to Spain.

We extract from Captain Sherer's work, the following clear account of the position of the British and Portuguese :—

“ While Wellington's own quarters were at Vizen, his advance division lay in front of Almeida, and patrolled as far as Ciudad Rodrigo. His cavalry, with the exception of the brigade furnishing relief to the outposts, lay in good cantonments in the rear ; while the other divisions of infantry were so disposed, that the two great roads that pierce the mountainous regions of Beira, were effectually guarded ; and these divisions were placed moreover, in so clear and judicious a connection, that they could readily be assembled at any point which the enemy should seriously menace, or which the general might choose for a demonstration on the frontier. The park of artillery was at head-quarters. All these troops were comfortably quartered, the weather was favourable, and provisions wholesome and abundant. While Lord Wellington, with the main body of his forces, observed all the country between the Douro and the Tagus, General Hill was posted south of this last river, with a di-



vision of infantry, and another of Portuguese, to watch the corps of Mortier and Regnier, who held the upper Estramadura, having their head-quarters at Merida, and patrolled in force towards the frontier of Alentejo. Romana, who, withdrawing from Seville when the French passed the Sierra Morena, had thrown himself into Badajos, just in time to save it from the corps of Mortier, was still in that place, and in regular communication with Hill. Elvas was respectably garrisoned ; but though General Hill kept his head-quarters usually at Portalegre, having a battalion advanced towards Albuquerque, and patrolling to the Spanish frontier, yet his main position was at Abrantes.

“ The head-quarters of Marshal Beresford, and the Portuguese, were at Thomar ; they consisted of twenty-four regiments of the line, six of light infantry, and ten of cavalry, with a due proportion of artillery. Their effective strength was about 31,000 ; but of this number many regiments were not yet sufficiently trained to act with the army, and remained therefore in garrison. Such brigades as were best disciplined, were placed in British divisions ; where, among English troops, it was rightly judged, they would feel a greater confidence, and a more noble emulation. Lord Wellington's personal activity, both of body and mind, during the long period in which the troops lay still and undisturbed, was incessant. Early in February, having visited his advanced divisions, he went to Lisbon, and again examined his lines with care. Ten thousand labourers were at work upon them. He returned about the middle of the month, in high health and spirits, spoke not a word about the lines, only there went forth a report, which was not of course discouraged by the general, that the idea of forming

these lines had been altogether abandoned, as the position was too extensive, and capable of being turned. The French about this time made various demonstrations against Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Upon the side of Alentejo, whenever the enemy moved down from Merida, and showed the heads of their columns, Hill, in pursuance of his instructions, put himself in motion, and marched a little forward ; but, in Beira, Lord Wellington never moved at all ; nor could they ever tempt him to betray his dispositions, or disconnect his divisions ; and these he had so posted that he knew they could not be troubled or disturbed in that stage of the campaign. Meanwhile the guerillas of Navarre and Biscay, sent reports of the entry of large reinforcements from France ; and, as the spring advanced, the plot, as had been expected, thickened. During this period, Lord Wellington was much and closely occupied in his bureau. There he worked alone, with the simplicity, and common secrecy of reserve ; but without the slightest ostentation ; no solemn mystery, no pomp of concealment, and never one look of importance. He commanded the corps of Hill, with as much minute attention to the detail of its movements, as if it had been under his own eye, though it operated far away from him in the south. In like manner he directed every movement throughout the land ; looking upon every road, every stream, and every strong Sierra, from the still observatory of his own mind ; while, as he bent over his maps and plans, he considered the correspondence and reports submitted to him. He answered all important communications with his own hand, and conveyed his instructions with that minute clearness, which precluded the possibility of his being misun-

derstood. In the month of March, 1810, the British troops effective in the field, did not amount to 22,000 combatants.”\*

In March, the French under Junot advanced upon Astorga with 12,000 men, they were at first repulsed with the loss of 2,500 troops, but the garrison afterwards capitulated. Junot then marched upon old Castile, and joined the corps which had already commenced operations against the frontier of Portugal. In expectation of a siege, Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida were put in a state of defence, a British Colonel, with 5,000 Portuguese, being appointed governor of the latter. In May, three *corps d'armées*, called the army of Portugal, had been put under Massena, who had acquired the title of the “Child of victory ;” and it was expected by Napoleon, that his military talents would succeed in subduing the country, and placing it finally under the French yoke. It was said that the crown had been promised him in the event of success. He was followed by 70,000 of the best warriors of France. But among the hills lay the British army, strong in valour and determination, and presided over by the bold and sagacious Wellington. “The British lion was indeed in the way.” Massena, in the full expectation that the British would fly before him, ordered his soldiers to carry food with them for 17 days, confidently hoping that by that time Lisbon would be in his possession. When he saw Wellington’s army posted on the Sierra de Busaco, and meaning resistance, he said to one of his generals, “I cannot persuade myself that Lord Wellington will risk the loss of his reputation ; but if he does *I have him* ; to-morrow we shall complete the conquest of Portugal, and in a few days more,

\* Sherer’s Military Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington.

I shall drown the Leopard." His rash boasting was soon at an end ; he left 5,000 men killed or wounded upon the mountains, and as many more were left disabled at Coimbra. By some mistake, Colonel Trant could not occupy soon enough a circuitous and difficult road by which Massena, after his defeat, was enabled to turn the left of the English position ; but entering Coimbra after the French had left it, this officer was enabled to capture the wounded, and hospital stores, and cut off the French supplies.

It is almost incredible, that at this period when Lord Wellington in his difficult position, with a host of enemies to struggle with, should not only have been inadequately supported by the Government at home, but likewise exposed to the mad violence of party-spirit from the opposition. The heart of the nation, however, was still true ; though there were not wanting individuals who said, in their place in Parliament, that the contest was hopeless and should be abandoned, and who seemed to do all they could to weaken the hands of our commander by endeavouring to make it appear that they had lost the confidence of the country. The arguments of Government however triumphed, and measures were taken for strengthening the British army. We have alluded thus briefly and cursorily to this subject, and shall not probably recur to it again ; indeed the same remarks apply to other periods of the contest ; and there can be no doubt that these ebullitions of partizanship had, whenever they occurred unfavourable results ; they added confidence to the common enemy, by seeming to indicate a divided people ; they were eagerly taken hold of by Napoleon and exhibited to the French in his mendacious bulletins ; but over all these attacks Wel-

lington triumphed—they only exhibited his great achievements in stronger and brighter relief,—and at the close of the long and brilliant contest he shewed the folly of such real or professed fears, by pointing to the issue of the whole, the honour of Britain unscathed, the Peninsula liberated, and the Corsican despot chained to his solitary rock.

Lord Wellington had foreseen the route the enemy would take, and made his dispositions accordingly. He had taken up his position on the frontier mountains of Beira, in the form of the segment of a circle, of which the convex part was presented to the quarter from whence the enemy must approach. The defensive line was nearly thirty miles in extent, but it had this advantage from its circular form, that its several points were distant from each other in proportion to the length of its circumference. Besides, the several posts were very strongly secured by the nature of the ground; and the Coa, with its tributary streams, flowed along the front of the line throughout the greater part of its extent.

Ciudad Rodrigo surrendered after a brief defence, during which the besiegers lost 9,000 men; although the siege went on very near the British army, Lord Wellington, conscious of the hazard with so large a proportion of his troops half-disciplined and untried, could not yet venture to assume the offensive, and attack an enemy so greatly superior in numbers. He felt how unwise it would be to risk everything for the sake of a temporary triumph; he had already laid down a plan whereby eventually to rescue Portugal, and however painful the course might be to his own feelings, or likely in the eyes of some to cast a shade over his reputation, he could not feel himself justified in departing from it. Almeida was the next object of the French; it was expected

to resist long, as it was well garrisoned and provided ; but on the second day the powder magazine blew up, and it was no longer tenable. As Dr. Southey well remarks, "Throughout the whole of Lord Wellington's career in the Peninsula, the accidents of war have been uniformly against him ; nothing therefore is to be detracted from his merits and carried to the score of fortune."

These successes raised the spirits of the French. Agitation and alarm were likewise felt at home ; Lord Wellington had no precise course marked out for him ; his instructions enjoined caution and defensive operations. Nevertheless with that firmness and confidence which well became him, he hesitated not to take upon himself the responsibility, which the Government had taken care should not, in case of disaster, press upon themselves. Weakness and vacillation were never discernible in his conduct. He was ever firm and collected, resolute in purpose, though even those around him might be faint-hearted.

The French in their advance carried on that system of cruelty and plunder, which had disgraced their armies in the Peninsula. The most infamous excesses were committed throughout the country. Lord Wellington issued the following proclamation.—"The Portuguese must now perceive that no other means remain to avoid the evils with which they are threatened, but a determined and vigorous resistance, and a firm resolution to obstruct as much as possible, the advance of the enemy into the interior of the kingdom, by removing out of his reach everything that may contribute to his subsistence, or facilitate his progress. The army under my command will protect as large a portion of the country as is possible : but it is obvious that the

people alone can deliver themselves by a vigorous resistance, and preserve their goods by removing them beyond the reach of the enemy. The duties therefore that bind me to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, and to the Portuguese nation, oblige me to make use of the power and authority with which I am intrusted, to compel the careless and indolent to make the necessary effort to preserve themselves from dangers which threaten them, and to save their country. I therefore make known and declare, that all magistrates, and persons in authority, who shall remain in the villages and towns, after having received orders from the military officers to remove from them ; and all persons of whatever class they may be, who shall maintain the least communication with or aid and assist the enemy in any manner, shall be considered as traitors to the state, and tried and punished as an offence so heinous requires."

The fall of Almeida allowed the enemy to advance, and on the 16th of September Massena commenced his march into Portugal. To meet him Lord Wellington crossed the Mondego, and occupied the Busaco range with his whole force, awaiting the French army in that strong position.

Meanwhile, however, the continued retreat of the English, and the multitude of fugitive peasants and proprietors, who flocked into Lisbon, produced the utmost consternation in the capital. Wellington soon felt the necessity of making an effort to support the drooping spirits of the people, and inspire additional energy into the governments of both countries. He therefore resolved to take post on the summit of the ridge of Busaco. "This mountain range runs from the northern shores of the Mondego in a northerly direction, about eight miles,

where it unites with the great ridge which separates the valley of the Mondego from that of the Douro.

"Thus this Sierra forms a natural barrier, running across the northern bank of the Mondego, and the same ridge continues along the same mountains under the name of Sierra de Murcella, which runs in a southerly direction till it joins the great chain which separates the valley of the Mondego from that of the Tagus. On the summit of the northern portion of this range, Wellington collected his whole army on the evening of the 26th, in all about 50,000 men, while Massena, with 72,000, lay at the foot, determined to force the passage.

"The French Marshal was not ignorant of the strength of the position which the English General had now assumed, or of the perilous nature of the situation in which he was placed, for while lying at the foot of the ridge of Busaco, he received intelligence that Colonel Trant had, with ten regiments of militia, attacked the reserved artillery and military chest near Tojal, and captured the whole, with 800 prisoners; and already the communication by the Spanish frontier was entirely cut off by the Portuguese light parties. But the orders of the Emperor were pressing, and he was well aware that fight he must at whatever disadvantage.\* Next day, collecting therefore all his force, Massena

\* In an intercepted letter from Napoleon at this period to Massena, he says, "Lord Wellington has only 18,000 men. Hill has 6,000; and it would be ridiculous to suppose that 24,000 English, can balance 60,000 French, if the latter do not trifle, but fall boldly on, after having well observed where the blow may be given. You have 12,000 cavalry, and four times as much artillery as is necessary for Portugal. Leave 6,000 cavalry, and a portion of guns between Ciudad Rodrigo, Alcantara, and Salamanca, and with the rest commence operations."



commenced a desperate attack upon the English position, at day-break of the morning of the 27th. The British army, during the night, lay in dense masses on the summit of the mountain.

"The sky was clear, and the dark rocky eminences rising on both sides of the pass, were crowned by the fires of innumerable bivouacs. The veterans in the English army, accustomed to similar scenes of excitement, slept profoundly on their stony beds ; but many of the young soldiers, who were now to witness a battle for the first time, were kept awake by the grandeur and solemnity of the scene around them. As the first streaks of dawn were beginning to appear over the eastern hills, a rustling noise was heard in the wooded dells which ran up to the crest of the mountains. It arose from the French outposts, who stealing unobserved during the night, had thus got close to the outposts of the English position without being perceived.

"The alarm was instantly given, and the troops started to their arms at all points. It was full time, for in a few minutes more the French in two massive columns were upon them. Ney, with three divisions, numbering 25,000 combatants, advanced against the British left, by the great road leading to the convent of Busaco ; while Regnier with two, moved by St. Antonio de Cantara, against their right, about three miles distant. The first, headed by Loison's division, preceded by a cloud of light troops, came rapidly up the wooded hollow which leads to Busaco ; and the British sharp-shooters, driven before them, soon emerged from the woods, breathless and in disorder. Crawford, whose division stood at that point, had stationed his artillery most advantageously to play upon the enemy during their ascent from the hollow ; but though the

guns were worked with extraordinary rapidity, nothing could stop the undaunted advance of the French troops. Emerging bravely from the hollow, they took their stand upon the edge of the mountain. The British artillery was quickly drawn to the rear. The shout of victory is already heard from the French line, when suddenly, Crawford, with the 43rd and 52nd regiments, springing out of a hollow behind the highest part of the ridge, where they lay concealed, appeared on the summit, and 1,800 British bayonets sparkled on the crest of the hill. The head of the French column instantly fired, but in vain ; it was broken and driven back ; both its flanks were over-lapped by the English, and three terrible discharges, within a few yards distance, drove them headlong down, in wild confusion, and with dreadful loss, to the bottom of the hollow.

“ The attack on the British right by the two divisions of Regnier’s corps, met with no better success. The ground in that quarter was indeed of comparatively easy ascent, and although the British and Portuguese skirmishers opposed a vigorous resistance, and twenty pieces of cannon played incessantly on the advancing column, yet nothing could arrest the ardour and gallantry of the French, who mounted with an intrepid step up the hill, and after routing a Portuguese regiment stationed before them, established themselves on the summit, and were beginning to deploy to the right and left ; at this instant, however, when the British position in this point appeared to be almost carried, and the third division, (part of which had been forced to give way) could with difficulty maintain itself against the dense and intrepid column which had forced itself into the centre of its line, General

Leith and General Picton brought up their divisions, and charged them with such vigour, that the enemy, after a desperate struggle, were hurled down the hill, the British firing upon them as long as their muskets would carry, but not pursuing, lest their ranks should be broken, and the crest of the hill be again won. The other French division of Regnier's corps, which advanced up a hollow way a little to the left of his main column, was repulsed by the left of Picton's division, before they reached the summit of the mountain.

"After these bloody defeats, the French made no attempt again to carry the top of the hill, though Loison and Marchand maintained a long and obstinate conflict in the hollows at its foot; but their efforts were effectually held in check by the brigades of Pack and Spencer, and at length towards evening, Massena, wearied of the fruitless butchery, drew off his troops, after having sustained a loss of 1,800 killed, and 3,000 wounded, among whom were Generals Foy and Merle, while the total loss of the allies was not above 1,300 men.

"The battle of Busaco produced an astonishing effect at the time at which it was fought; and in its ultimate consequences, was beyond all question one of the most important that took place in the whole Peninsular war. It, for the first time, brought the Portuguese troops into battle with the French, and under such advantageous circumstances as at once gave them a victory. Incalculable was the effect produced by this glorious triumph. To have stood side by side with the British soldiers in a pitched battle, and shared with them in the achievement of defeating the French, was a distinction which they could hardly have hoped to attain so early in the campaign. Wellington judiciously

bestowed the highest praises on their conduct in the battle, and declared in his public despatch, that "they were worthy of contending in the same ranks with the British soldiers in this interesting cause." It may safely be affirmed that on the day after the battle, the strength of the Portuguese troops was doubled.

"The sight of this auspicious change dispelled every desponding feeling from the British army. No presentiments of ultimate discomfiture were any longer entertained.

"The plan of defence which the far-seeing sagacity of their chief had formed, revealed itself to the meanest sentinel in the ranks, and the troops of every nation, prepared to follow the standard of their leader wherever he should lead them, with that ready alacrity and undoubting confidence which is at once the forerunner and the cause of ultimate triumph."\*

On the 28th September both armies retained their respective positions, and a partial engagement took place between the light infantry on the left of the line. But Massena, as already noticed, had heard from the peasantry that a road existed by which he might turn the position of the British. His movement did not escape the vigilant eye of the English commander, but it was then impossible to take measures to counteract it. The result of Colonel Trant's mistake was, that the enemy were suffered to pass through a series of defiles without opposition, in which they must otherwise have sustained great loss. As soon as he had ascertained the movements of the French, Lord Wellington ordered the position of Busaco to be quitted, and the retreat to go on. He moved on Coimbra with

\* Alison's History of Europe, Vol. VII.

the main body, while General Hill retired on Santarem ; Colonel Trant was posted on the northern bank of the Vouga, and Vizen was occupied by a corps of militia, for the purpose of cutting off the enemy's communication with Spain. It was not the policy of Wellington at this time to oppose the French, he declined the offer of a second battle on the Mondego, and, crossing that river, continued his retreat to Leira, which he reached on the 2nd October. On the 5th, hearing that the enemy were coming on in force, the retreat was resumed. Massena, who had expected to come up with the British, was compelled by the exhaustion of his soldiers, and want of provisions, to make a brief halt. Wellington and Hill continued their retreat by easy marches, one to Torres Vedras, the other to Alhandra on the Tagus. Proclamations had been issued requiring the inhabitants to fall back on the approach of the enemy ; and the remembrance of the fearful atrocities almost uniformly practised by Napoleon's army on their way—which made them resemble the "scourges in the hand of God" that advanced upon the falling Roman empire—induced the whole population of the country the British left behind them, to fly from their dwellings, bearing with them all the property they could convey. As the English army retreated, it was accompanied by these miserable crowds of outcasts—many of whom escaped only with life, but without the means of sustaining it. They left their homes and the consecrated scenes of their youth with the full conviction that on their return they would find only blackened and ruinous walls. "Mothers with infants at their breasts ; children happy in their ignorance, and smiling amid the scene of desolation which sur-

rounded them ; palsied grandsires, smiling too in the second infancy of dotage ; men robust and vigorous, with features wrrenched by strong agony of the spirit ;—the blind, the maimed, the crippled, the diseased, all animated by the common and overpowering motive of escaping from the savage cruelties of the invaders, were seen crowding the roads, and flying for protection to the capital." As the army approached Lisbon the bulk of the fugitive multitude became greatly increased. The way-side was strewn with articles of furniture which the people could no longer carry with them. Those who had thrown themselves on the ground in exhaustion, no sooner heard that the enemy's columns were coming up, than they started up, and attempted to renew their journey with convulsive energy. But, as a writer on the subject says, no description can convey an adequate idea of the sad reality ; those who witnessed it declared that its impression can never be effaced but by death.

On the 10th October the British troops took up their position on the lines constructed for them ; and next day were joined by Romana, with 6,000 Spaniards from the Alentejo. . It was not till these celebrated fortifications of Torres Vedras were beheld, that the army could form a right estimate of the military genius of their commander, who had so placed them that they might bid defiance to the utmost efforts of the enemy. Till Massena advanced to Sobral, he had no conception of the formidable position in which Lord Wellington's army awaited his approach. He immediately halted, at night made a retrograde movement, and three days elapsed before he again ventured to advance. For some time he reconnoitred the ground ; and though the full strength of these

celebrated lines were not revealed to him, he saw enough to convince him of the very formidable obstacles in his way. Attack he saw was hopeless, and he arranged his corps in bivouac, on a range of heights extending from Villa Franca on the Tagus, in front of the British ; part also were disposed along the banks of the river. He made an attack upon a redoubt at the foot of a mountain, which formed part of the position, but his troops, after a severe contest, were repulsed. No other incident of importance occurred for several weeks.

Lisbon is situated at the extremity of a peninsula, the neck of which is crossed by several rugged and mountainous chains, stretching from the Tagus—a distance of thirty miles—in a semicircular form towards the sea. Along these, below the point where the Tagus is no longer fordable, two very strong natural lines—one considerably in advance of the other—had been fixed upon. On these, so strong naturally, all the resources of military science had been lavished. The whole resembled one mighty and impregnable fortress. Mountains had been scarped perpendicularly ; streams and rivers dammed to make inundations : all roads by which an enemy could advance broken up—obstructions heaped upon, and cannon placed to sweep them : new ones formed for communication between the various parts of the defensive force ; the weaker points of the position strengthened ; a triple chain of redoubts drawn, from which, and other batteries, 600 pieces of cannon commanded every approach and open point. The right of the first line was flanked by a flotilla of gun-boats which bore upon the enemy. The second line of defence presented nearly similar features ; and thus, though Massena had even gained the

first, he would still, before reaching Lisbon, have had to force a barrier of immense strength.

On the southern side of the Tagus, the heights commanding the city and anchorage of Lisbon were likewise strongly fortified, and marines from the ships landed to defend them. At the entrance of the Tagus entrenchments were also thrown up round fort St. Julian, to secure the embarkation of the British, should Massena, by any marvel succeed in forcing the lines of Torres Vedras. The great ridge of the Monte Junto rises, and extends unbroken for fifteen miles, this ridge could not be crossed by roads; so that in case of attack the forces on the different sides could give assistance to each other, as it could only be rounded by a march of two days. Unbroken communication, on the contrary, was kept up through the British lines; and in a very few hours the whole force could be collected to defend any part that might be endangered.

Meanwhile Massena laboured under great difficulties. His communications with Spain were cut off, and from the deserted country he could not draw provisions for his troops; his convoys from France had to traverse Spain, a distance of 600 miles, before they could reach the frontiers of Portugal, and exposed all the way to be cut off by guerilla parties. Indeed, famine must have driven him out of the country, if the people had strictly obeyed the orders of Lord Wellington and the Government, to remove all provisions; but this was so slowly carried into effect that a great quantity of private stores were found by the enemy; while the harbour of Lisbon could be entered by supplies from England and all parts of the world.

The French hoping for reinforcements, had taken up a position at Santarem. Lord Wellington did



not think it advisable to attack them here, as this would have cost him much loss ; and he was not like Bonaparte, a general, as Kleber said, who spent at the rate of 10,000 men a week. Massena chiefly relied upon the advance of a French army into Alentejo ; but this Lord Wellington had provided against, by preparing lines from the Tagus into Setubal, thus securing the heights of Almada, from which Lisbon might be bombarded. Massena had shewn great ability and judgment in occupying Santarem, or rather he had taken a lesson from his great adversary ; without this measure he could not long have maintained the struggle ; by means of it he was enabled to protract the war during the winter months ; for the position could not be assailed in front without great loss, and on account of the state of the roads, could not be turned during the heavy rains of winter.

Massena kept his position as long as he could ; but on the 14th November, his army broke up, and commenced the retreat ; he made his preparations for it with prudence and skill. Lord Wellington's troops were immediately put in motion ; but, as Massena's intention was not known yet, for a precaution General Picton's division remained at Torres Vedras, while the rest of the army was brought opposite Santarem. Lord Wellington cantoned his troops in such a manner that should the enemy, reinforced, attempt to advance, he could fall back upon the lines, and remain equally ready to grasp any advantages which circumstances might offer. At Lisbon, in spite of the French, almost uniform tranquillity and security prevailed. Measures were adopted for the support of the multitude that had flocked in from the surrounding country, hospitals and other public buildings being allotted for their

accommodation. During the remainder of the year no farther occurrence of importance took place ; both armies remained quiet in cantonments, and owing to the carelessness of the inhabitants, the French were much less incommoded by the want of provisions. Massena sent to Napoleon, earnestly demanding reinforcements.

Lord Wellington still met with embarrassments from the Portuguese Government. His utmost efforts failed to call forth the full energies of the state, and excite the sluggish authorities to proper activity. He had received hitherto but a small accession of force from England. But confident in his resources, he effected all that was in his power, and calmly waited the issue. In the preceding spring, while Massena was collecting his forces, he thus wrote to a friend in England :—" I suppose the people at home think me in a scrape. I do not think so myself ; but if I am, I'll get out of it."

With the same calm feeling did he hear of the overwrought expectations in England when Massena began his retreat ; he was prepared for the re-action when they now taxed him with inactivity. He was gratified, however, by the arrival of a fresh body of troops at Lisbon, which he had before solicited in vain.

We must now glance for a moment at the state of matters in Spain. Cadiz had been saved by the vigour and decision of the Duke de Albuquerque, who vigorously superintended its fortifications. He drew a line of contravallation of twenty-five miles, and fortified with care, a city which enjoyed natural advantages. British and Portuguese troops to the number of 6,000, under Sir Thomas Graham, were admitted ; and by his orders incessant labours were carried on to improve the defences. Only

one of the French batteries could cast a few shells into the town. Soult, during the spring, overran Murcia and Granada, establishing his temporary triumph, by the most savage executions. Every patriot, taken in arms, was shot, and his body left on the highway ; but these deeds of blood were amply revenged. If the French, in spite of reinforcements, had no success at Cadiz, they yet gained a number of fortresses, having taken Hostalrich, Las Medas, Lerida, and Mequinenza. Suchet however was compelled to return to the Ebro. The Cortes of Spain, under a new and enlarged constitution, met on the 24th of September, 1810. Some of their measures were liberal, and at another period would have caused much good ; but they showed their jealousy of the executive, by dissolving the Regency, and appointing another, of which General Blake was president.

Many acts of the Cortes were capricious and rash, and though popular at first, they soon lost the favour of the people. They wasted their time in idle or pernicious disputes, neglecting means of defence, while the enemy was at their gates. Lord Wellington's interference was more than once called for, to prevent more hurtful measures from being passed. The Colonies in Spanish America revolted.

About the end of December, Soult advanced into Estramadura at the head of 13,000 men ; driving the Spaniards, under Ballasteros and Mendizabal, before him. Romana's army, which, after the death of its leader, had been detached for the relief of Badajos, under Mendizabal, was surprised and almost destroyed ; and the city itself disgracefully surrendered, not without suspicion of treachery. By the death of Romana, said Lord Wellington,

"the Spanish army have lost their brightest ornament, his country its most upright patriot, and the world the most zealous defender of the cause in which we are engaged ; and I shall always acknowledge with gratitude, the assistance I have received from him, as well by his operations, as by his counsel, since he had been joined with this army."

Massena now perceived that nothing but a retreat could preserve his troops, and his immediate wants rendered it impossible for him to await the result of Soult's operations for his relief. His army was now sickly and dispirited. Having, therefore, gradually removed his sick and wounded to the rear, with his baggage, and almost all his artillery, he retained in the cantonments only the men and horses fit for active duty. He advanced by three routes to the frontier ; and as these converged towards one common centre, he had it in his power to offer battle. On the 6th of March, the British commenced the pursuit, and the French seemed determined to contest their advance at Pombal. Lord Wellington attacked them, drove in the advanced posts, and took 200 prisoners ; but the enemy, after setting fire to the town, fell back on Redinha, where they posted a strong rear-guard.

The march of the British was thus retarded for several hours, and the French baggage and artillery conveyed across the Soure in safety. At Condeixa, they again made a demonstration ; as their position was strong, Lord Wellington did not choose to attack them in front ; a flank movement of Picton's division, however, caused them to fall back. The French continued their retreat on the frontier of the road leading to the Ponte de Marcella ; but Lord Wellington's skilful movements prevented them from entering the yet unexhausted country

beyond the Mondego, and enabled the British to hold communication with the northern provinces. Yet they were much retarded in the pursuit by the enemy selecting for the line of retreat, a country presenting a succession of admirable defensive positions. Nevertheless, the French rear corps sustained a series of repulses from the advancing columns of the British. On one occasion, part of their troops were pressed so hard in flank, as they were crossing the Ceira, that they were driven back upon the bridge in confusion, many of them being trodden down and drowned, in the darkness and terror. Lord Wellington, however, was now compelled to relax his pursuit, by the scarcity of provisions. The Portuguese troops, destitute of food, required to be supplied from the British stores. A halt was therefore needed, to give time for the arrival of forage and provisions from the rear. Lord Wellington, meanwhile, followed the enemy with the cavalry and light troops, supported by two divisions. Massena, instead of falling back on Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, determined to take up a strong position near Guarda ; which is situated on a steep mountain, commanding the plain. The French, not expecting to be attacked in a situation so strong, had thought the pursuit over, and relaxed in their vigilance ; their consternation, therefore, was great, when they saw five attacking columns simultaneously appear on the different sides of the mountain, and almost at the summit. The mere sight was enough : the French precipitately retreated without firing a shot, and rushed across the Coa.

Thus driven from Guarda, they resolved to make a last effort to maintain themselves within the frontier. They were strongly posted along the banks of the river ; their right flank at Ruivina, their

left at Sabugal, and the 8th corps at Alfayantes. Their left flank only was exposed. On the 3rd of April, the light division was ordered to cross the Coa, at a ford several miles above Sabugal, in the rear of General Regnier, who was to be attacked in front by the 3rd and 5th divisions ; the 6th was to remain opposite Ruivina, and part of the 7th watched the bridge of Ferreras. The day was dark and cloudy, and mist, with storms of rain, confined the vision within a yard or two. An almost impervious fog hid the light division after it had crossed the river ; they drove in the enemy's picquets, and pursuing them, came unexpectedly upon the left of Regnier's main body, which they were intended to turn. The advance was driven back upon the 43rd regiment ; and Regnier, the mist dispersing, seeing the scanty numbers of the force opposed to him, sent against it a strong infantry column, with horse and artillery. They were boldly repulsed, and Colonel Beckwith's brigade having advanced against the French, was attacked by a fresh column of infantry on the left, and a regiment of horse on the right. Beckwith was enabled to maintain his ground against increasing numbers, by promptly retiring behind some stone enclosures ; he then charged successfully, captured an howitzer, but was compelled to retire by the French cavalry again advancing upon his flank. Beckwith, aided by the other brigade of the light division, returned to the attack. " In vain did Regnier bring forward fresh and stronger columns, in vain did cavalry fall in upon the skirmishers of the 52nd, and cause a momentary confusion ; the fierce efforts of the enemy were all firmly repulsed, and the brave light division kept the howitzer, and still crowned the hill. In this short and bloody struggle, the French

lost more than 300 dead upon the ground, and their wounded were very numerous. The British had only 200 killed and wounded."

Regnier was preparing to send out his reserves, when the fifth division carried the bridge of Sabugal, and a column of the third threatened his right flank. He retired in haste. Next day, Massena took the road for Ciudad Rodrigo, and on the 5th of April, entered Spain. Thus were the French, by the superior generalship and bold vigour of Lord Wellington, driven out of Portugal; they had advanced, confident in their superior numbers, "to drive the English into the sea;" and a disgraceful and dangerous retreat had alone preserved them from destruction. The British cavalry chased them as far as the Spanish frontiers, after they had been exposed to one unbroken series of disaster and defeat. Every plan had been baffled, every engagement lost; not one solitary exploit could console them in their discomfiture. Aided by British skill and valour, one of the smallest and weakest of European kingdoms had defied the arms of France, and vindicated her claims to liberty by the sword. Her oppressors had been most signally vanquished, and had left half their men dead in her mountain-passes.

Yet must we award to Massena the praise of having made the most of his defeated army. But here our praise must stop, for his retreat was one continued course of barbarous devastation. No doubt the difficulties of his troops seemed to render pillage a necessary evil; but no palliation can be offered for the gratuitous and wanton cruelty of the French, which has cast enduring infamy upon all who abetted, or attempted not to check these outrages. "The conduct of the French army," said

Lord Wellington, "throughout this retreat, has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, and Pernes, in which the headquarters of the corps had been for some months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced by promises of good treatment to remain, they were plundered, and many of their houses destroyed on the night the enemy withdrew from their position; and they have since burned every town and village through which they passed." The town of Leyria, with the Bishop's palace, was sacked. The convent of Alcobaça, one of the most ancient and magnificent structures in the kingdom, shared the same fate. They likewise destroyed Batalha, the most Gothic building, not in Portugal alone, but almost in Europe; the royal tombs were broken open, and among the bodies taken out to be torn in pieces for the mockery of the reckless enemy, was that of Prince Henry, the first patron of maritime discovery. All human sympathy and compassionate feeling seemed extinguished in the breasts of these ruthless barbarians. The claims of age and sex were both set at naught. The murdered Portuguese lay unburied in the road, especially those of the priests, mutilated in the most disgusting manner. "This is the mode," says Wellington with honourable indignation, "in which the promises have been performed, that were held out in the proclamation of the French Commander-in-chief, in which the inhabitants of Portugal were assured, that he was not come to make war on them, but, with a powerful army of 110,000 men, to 'drive the English into the sea.' It is to be hoped that the example of what has occurred in this country, will teach the people of this and other nations, what reliance is to



be placed on such promises and assurances, and that there is no security for life, or for anything which renders life valuable, except in decided resistance to the enemy." But this is a very imperfect description of the horrors caused by the French ; the extent of these were only revealed to those who saw the cantonments in which they had remained for several months. They were such that a veil must be drawn over them. In the district of Coimbra alone, nearly 3,000 persons were murdered. In short, as Napier remarks, "Every horror that could make war hideous attended this dreadful march."

On the 28th March, reinforcements sufficient to form a seventh division, arrived from England. They had been embarked in January ; but contrary winds detained them till the 2nd March. Had they but arrived a month sooner, Lord Wellington might have carried on offensive operations, before the French yielding to necessity left Santarem.

## CHAPTER X.

Operations in the south-west of Spain—Battle of Barrosa—Position of the British—Description of the neighbourhood of Lisbon—Massena's retreat—Battle of Albuera—Almeida—Battle of Fuentes d'Honore—Lord Wellington's movements—Proceedings in Spain—Blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo—Affair at Grunaldo—Aldea de Ponte—Lord Wellington's difficulties.

THE abandonment of Portugal by the French raised the expectations of the people of England, and added power and weight to the government. Lord Wellington's successes induced both Parliament and the country to resolve to enable him to carry on the war with vigour and energy. In consequence of the illness of George III., affairs were now directed by the Prince Regent, who continued in office his father's ministers. Party-spirit was however far from having died away; there were not wanting men who—though the honour and interest of the country were pledged to the Peninsular war, and the withdrawal of our troops would not only endanger the safety of this country, but cover it with disgrace—still urged that the contest should be abandoned—that Portugal was untenable—that the retirement to Torres Vedras was a proof of this, and equivalent to giving that country over to the French. Even when British valour and ability had driven Massena beyond the frontier, they alleged that this was only a feigned movement—a change of position from the Zezera to the Agueda,—so as to lead the British from their resources and ultimately crush them, when worn out, by numerical superiority. Happily these views were held neither by the majority of Parliament, nor did they express

the voice of the country : £100,000 were voted for the relief of the suffering Portuguese, and large private subscriptions raised for the same purpose ; by which timely aid the lives of thousands were preserved, many of whom fought in their country's cause, and contributed to repel the invader. In Portugal, Lord Wellington issued a proclamation warning the people to prepare against further efforts of the French—recommending that each man should accustom himself to the use of arms—that places of safety and refuge be prepared in each district—that all valuables be concealed—and such stores of provisions as could not be removed, or secreted, destroyed. If these instructions should be faithfully adhered to, he told them that no doubt would exist as to the issue of the contest.

After defeating Mendizabal, Soult pressed the siege of Badajoz with increased vigour. It was garrisoned by 9,000 men ; but General Menacho who had conducted the defence with much energy, was killed by a cannon-shot ; and his successor was a man of less bravery and decision. Soult at length succeeded in taking the place ; the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. Campo Mayor and Albuquerque next fell.

Meanwhile active operations took place in the south-west of Spain. A combined body of Spaniards and British, marching northward from Gibraltar, approached the south-western extremity of the line occupied by the French in the siege of Cadiz. This force was commanded by General Graham. At noon, on the 5th of March, after a long march, intelligence was received of the advance of a French corps. General Graham knew that the heights of Barroasa, which he had just left, were the key of the position, he immediately countermarched his

troops, and had gone but a little distance, when he found himself close upon the enemy, whose left division was seen ascending the hill of Barrosa, while their right stood on the plain exposed to artillery. Retreat was impossible; Graham resolved, though unsupported by the Spaniards, and inferior in numerical strength to the enemy, immediately to attack the French, who suffered considerably from a battery which opened upon their right division; still they continued to advance, but a bayonet charge drove them back with great slaughter. A similar conflict with the like successful issue took place with the other division on the ascent of the hill; both sides fought with courage, and both sustained a great loss; the British 1,200, the French nearly double. The action lasted an hour and a half.

During this engagement the Spaniards under La Pena, remained inactive; had they pushed on, Victor must have been compelled to retreat. Graham was so enraged at this conduct that he crossed the Santi Petri next morning, resolving to proceed no farther. During this period the marines and seamen succeeded in dismantling the sea defences of the enemy from Rota to Santa Maria. Victor marched to Seville for reinforcements, leaving his force concentrated at Xeres; and, in consequence of the supineness of the Spaniards, the want of harmony and union among the French generals alone afforded to the British an opportunity of escaping serious peril. His own countrymen disgusted at La Pena's conduct, appointed a Court of Inquiry, who convicted him of incapacity and want of enterprise.

The French, however, were now about to meet with more formidable opposition; for Marshal Beresford

was advancing with 22,000 men, directed to invest Badajos, before the garrison could complete their defences. He advanced on Campo Mayor which he reached by the 25th March ; and from a height at the distance of a mile, the French were observed running from the town, and hastily forming themselves into marching order, while a convoy of provisions and stores were seen approaching Badajos. Brigadier-General Long moved on the right flank of the enemy, while the 13th light dragoons, under Colonel Head, with some squadrons of Portuguese cavalry, drove back the French horse upon their infantry, which halted, formed a square, and compelled Head to retire. Both parties had a favourable ground for the exercise of military skill. Colonel Head even captured part of the convoy, but, wanting support, was compelled to relinquish it ; his men, who pursued the French to the walls of Badajos, sustained considerable loss by the fire of the cannon. Beresford now prepared to cross the Guadiana, which he did on rafts, and established his head-quarters at a small village on the left of that river, where his troops were almost surprised by the French. He then took Olivença. Soon afterwards Lord Wellington arrived, reconnoitred Badajos, and ordered active operations to commence, for its recapture seemed essential to the success of his future plans, since it afforded protection to the French in the southern provinces, giving them the command of the most fertile part of Portugal. Nor could the British enter Spain in safety while the enemy held this formidable post on their flank. Wellington was now recalled to the north by Massena's movements, and Beresford commenced operations against Badajos on the 8th May. A breaching battery was erected, which produced little ef-

fect, as the guns being of brass, were made useless by the firing in a few hours. Fresh artillery was sent for ; but Soult's advance, at the head of a considerable force, compelled Beresford to relinquish the siege. Soult's object was to relieve Badajos, and he had drafted from various quarters large reinforcements. Nevertheless Beresford awaited him on the heights of Albuera. Of this battle, important in itself and in its consequences we shall extract Colonel Napier's animated and picturesque account.

"The hill in the centre, commanding the Valverde road, was undoubtedly the key of the position, if an attack was made parallel to the front ; but the heights on the right presented a sort of table-land, bending backwards towards the Valverde road, and looking into the rear of the line of battle. Hence it was evident that, if a mass of troops could be placed there, they must be beaten, or the right wing of the allied army would be rolled up on the centre, and pushed into the narrow ravine of the Aroya. The Valverde road could then be seized, the retreat cut off, and the powerful cavalry of the French would complete the victory. Now the right of the allies, and the left of the French, approximated to each other, being only divided by a wooded hill, about cannon-shot distance from either, but separated from the allies by the Albuera, and from the French by a rivulet called the Feria. This height, neglected by Beresford, was ably made use of by Soult. During the night, he placed behind it the artillery under General Ruty, the fifth corps under Girarde, and the heavy dragoons under Latour Maubourg ; thus concentrating 15,000 men and 40 guns, within ten minutes' march of Beresford's right wing, and yet that general could neither see a man,

nor draw a sound conclusion as to the real plan of attack.

"The light cavalry, the division of the 1st corps under General Werle, Godinot's brigade, and 10 guns, still remained at the French Marshal's disposal. These he formed in the woods extending along the banks of the Feria, towards its confluence with the Albuera; and Godinot was ordered to attack the village and bridge, and to bear strongly against the centre of the position, with a view to attract Beresford's attention, to separate his wings, and to double up his right at the moment when the principal attack should be developed.

"During the night, Blake and Cole arrived with above 16,000 men; but so defective was the occupation of the ground, that Soult had no change to make in his plans from this circumstance, and a little before nine o'clock in the morning, Godinot's division issued from the woods in one heavy column of attack, preceded by ten guns. He was flanked by the light cavalry, and followed by Werle's division of reserve, and making straight towards the bridge, commenced a sharp cannonade, attempting to force the passage; at the same time, Briche, with two regiments of hussars, drew further down the river, to observe Colonel Otway's horse.

"The allies' guns on the rising ground above the village, answered the fire of the French, and ploughed through their columns, which were crowding without judgment towards the bridge, although the stream was passable, above and below. But Beresford, observing that Werle's division did not follow closely, was soon convinced that the principal effort would be on the right; and therefore sent Blake orders to form a part of the first and all the second line of the Spanish army on the broad part

of the hills, at right angles to their actual front. Then drawing the Portuguese infantry of the left wing to the centre, he sent one brigade down to support Alten, and directed General Hamilton to hold the remainder in columns of battalions, ready to move to any part of the field. The 13th dragoons were posted near the edge of the river, above the bridge ; and meanwhile the 2nd division marched to support Blake. The horse artillery, the heavy dragoons, and the 4th division, also took ground to the right, and were posted ; the cavalry and guns on a small plain behind the Aroya, and the 4th division in an oblique line about half musket shot behind them. This done, Beresford galloped to Blake, for that general had refused to change his front, and, with great heat, told Colonel Hardinge, the bearer of the order, that the real attack was at a village and bridge. Beresford had sent again to entreat that they would obey, but this message was as fruitless as the former ; and, when the Marshal arrived, nothing had been done. The enemy's columns were, however, now beginning to appear on the right, and Blake, yielding to this evidence, proceeded to make evolutions, yet with such pedantic slowness, that Beresford, impatient of his folly, took the direction in person.

“ Great was the confusion and delay thus occasioned, and ere the troops could be put in order the French were amongst them. For scarcely had Godinot engaged Alten's brigade, when Werle, leaving only a battalion of grenadiers, and some squadrons to watch the 13th dragoons, and connect the attacks, counter marched with the remainder of his division, and rapidly gained the rear of the 5th corps as it was mounting the hills on the right of the allies. At the same time the mass of light



cavalry suddenly quitted 'Godinot's column, and crossing the river Albuera above the bridge, ascended the left bank at a gallop, and sweeping round the rear of the 5th corps, joined Latour Maubourg, who was already in face of Lumley's squadrons. Thus half an hour had sufficed to render Beresford's position nearly desperate. Two thirds of the French were in a compact order of battle, on a line perpendicular to his right, and his army, disordered and composed of different nations, was still in the difficult act of changing its front. It was in vain that he endeavoured to form the Spanish line sufficiently in advance to give room for the second division to support it; the French guns opened; their infantry threw out a heavy musketry, and their cavalry, out-flanking the front and charging here and there, put the Spaniards in disorder at all points; in a short time the latter gave way, and Soult, thinking the whole army was yielding, pushed forward his columns, while his reserves also mounted the hill, and General Rutty placed all the batteries in position.

"At this critical moment, General William Stewart arrived at the foot of the height, with Colonel Colborne's brigade, which formed the head of the 2nd division. The Colonel, seeing the confusion above, desired to form in order of battle, previous to mounting the ascent; but Stewart, whose boiling courage overlaid his judgment, led up without any delay in columns of companies, and attempted to open out his line in succession as the battalions arrived at the summit. Being under a destructive fire, the foremost charged to gain some room; but a heavy rain prevented any object from being distinctly seen, and four regiments of hussars and lancers came galloping in upon the rear line at the

instant of its development, and slew or took two-thirds of the brigade. One battalion only (the 31st) being still in column, escaped the storm, and maintained its ground ; while the French horsemen, riding violently over every thing else, penetrated to all parts. In the tumult a lancer fell upon Beresford, but the Marshal, a man of great strength, putting his spear aside, cast him from his saddle, and a shift of wind blowing aside the mist and smoke, the mischief was perceived from the plains by General Lumley, who sent four squadrons out upon the lancers, and cut many of them off.

“ During this first unhappy effort of the 2nd division, so great was the confusion, that the Spanish line continued to fire without cessation, although the British were before them ; whereupon Beresford, finding his exhortations to advance fruitless, seized an ensign, and bore him and his colours by main force to the front ; yet the troops would not follow, and the man went back again on being released. In this crisis the weather, which had ruined Colborne's brigade, also prevented Soult from seeing the whole extent of the field of battle, and he still kept his heavy columns together. His cavalry, indeed, began to hem in that of the allies ; but the fire of the horse artillery enabled Lumley, covered as he was by the bed of the Aroya, and supported by the fourth division, to check them on the plain, while Colborne still maintained the heights with the 31st regiment ; the British artillery, under Major Dickson, was likewise coming fast into action, and William Stewart, who had escaped the charge of the lancers, was again mounting the hill with General Houghton's brigade, which he brought on with the same vehemence, but, instructed by his previous misfor-

tune, in a juster order of battle. The weather now cleared, and a dreadful fire, poured into the thickest of the French columns, convinced Soult that the day was yet to be won.

“Houghton's regiments soon got footing on the summit ; Dickson placed the artillery in line, the remaining brigade of the 2nd division came up on the left, and two Spanish corps at last moved forward. The enemy's infantry then recoiled, yet soon recovering, renewed the fight with greater violence than before : the cannon on both sides discharged showers of grape at half range, and the peals of musketry were incessant, and often within pistol shot ; but the close formation of the French embarrassed their battle, and the British line would not yield one inch of ground nor a moment of time to open their ranks. Their fighting was, however, fierce and dangerous. Stewart was twice hurt ; Colonel Duckworth, of the 48th, was slain ; and the gallant Houghton, who had received many wounds without shrinking, fell and died in the act of cheering his men. Still the struggle continued with unabated fury. Colonel Inglis, 22 other officers, and more than 400 men out of 570 that had mounted the hill, fell in the 57th alone ; and the other regiments were scarcely better off : not more than one-third were standing in any. Ammunition failed, and, as the English fire slackened, the enemy established a column in advance upon the right flank ; the play of Dickson's artillery checked them a moment, but again the Polish lancers charging, captured six guns. And in this desperate crisis, Beresford, who had already withdrawn the 13th dragoons from the banks of the river, and brought Hamilton's Portuguese into a situation to cover a retrograde movement, wavered !

Destruction stared him in the face, his personal resources were exhausted, and the unhappy thought of a retreat rose in his agitated mind. Yet no order to that effect was given, and it was urged by some about him that the day might still be redeemed with the 4th division. While he hesitated, Colonel Hardinge boldly ordered General Cole to advance ; and then riding to Colonel Abercrombie, who commanded the remaining brigade of the 2nd division, directed him also to push forward into the fight. The die being thus cast, Bèresford acquiesced, and this terrible battle was continued.

" The 4th division had only two brigades in the field ; the one Portuguese under General Harvey ; the other, commanded by Sir W. Myers, and composed of the 7th and 23rd British regiments, was called the Fusileer brigade. General Cole directed the Portuguese to move between Lumley's dragoons and the hill, where they were immediately charged by some of the French horsemen, who were beat off with great loss : meanwhile he led the Fusileers in person up the height.

" At this time six guns were in the enemy's possession ; the whole of Werle's reserves were coming forward to reinforce the front column of the French, and the remnant of Houghton's brigade could no longer maintain its ground ; the field was heaped with carcasses, the lancers were riding furiously about the captured artillery on the upper part of the hill, and on the lower slopes a Spanish and an English regiment in mutual error were exchanging volleys : behind all, General Hamilton's Portuguese, in withdrawing from the heights above the bridge, appeared to be in retreat. The conduct of a few brave men soon changed this state of affairs. Colonel Robert Arbuthnot, pushing be-

tween the double fire of the mistaken troops, arrested that mischief ; while Cole, with the Fusileers, flanked by a battalion of the Lusitanian legion under Colonel Hawkeshawe, mounted the hill, dispersed the lancers, recovered the captured guns, and appeared on the right of Houghton's brigade exactly as Abercrombie passed it on the left.

"Such a gallant line, issuing from the midst of the smoke, and rapidly separating itself from the confused and broken multitude, startled the enemy's heavy masses, which were increasing and pressing onwards as to an assured victory ; they wavered, hesitated, and then vomiting forth a storm of fire, hastily endeavoured to enlarge their front, while a fearful discharge of grape from all their artillery, whistled through the British ranks. Myers was killed ; Cole, and three colonels, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkeshawe, fell wounded ; and the Fusileer battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like sinking ships. Suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible enemies ; and then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights.

"In vain did Soult, by voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen ; in vain did the hardiest veterans, extricating themselves from the crowded columns, sacrifice their lives to gain time for the mass to open out on such a fair field ; in vain did the mass itself bear up, and fiercely striving, fire indiscriminately upon friends and foes, while the horsemen, hovering on the flank, threatened to charge the advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry ; no sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm, weakened the stability of their order : their flashing eyes

were bent on the dark columns in their front ; their measured tread shook the ground ; their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation ; their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd, as foot by foot and with a horrid carnage it was driven by the incessant vigour of the attack, to the farthest edge of the hill. In vain did the French reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavour to sustain the fight ; their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion, and the mighty mass giving way like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood, and 1,500 unwounded men, the remnant of 6,000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill !”

Lord Wellington reached the army some time after the battle of Albuera, and determined to renew the siege of Badajos. Breaches were made in the walls, and two attempts at assault were hazarded (6th and 8th of June) but in vain ; the advance of the French army from the north, in concert with that of the south, necessitated the raising of the siege. Here ended the active operations of the year. Our army remained some time encamped in the central part of Portugal, after which, Lord Wellington marched northward, and threatened Ciudad Rodrigo, but retreated before a superior force collected by the French.

Lord Wellington had returned from the Alentejo, and fixed his head-quarters at Villa Fermosa on the 28th of April. Massena, after organizing his army, and recovering it from the state of disorder into which it had been thrown by the retreat from Portugal, and being reinforced by 1,500 cavalry, con-

centrated his divisions near Ciudad Rodrigo, with the view of throwing supplies into Almeida, and with his whole army crossed the Aqueda and the Azava. Lord Wellington, because of deficiency in cavalry, could not in this oppose him, and accordingly the horse and light infantry fell back to Fuentes d'Honore. Massena had 40,000 foot, and 5,000 horse ; Lord Wellington had 36,000, of whom but 2,000 were cavalry. In spite, however, of Massena's superiority, he prepared to give him battle, as it was of great consequence that Almeida should not be relieved.

At Almeida, the Coa is a river of considerable magnitude, and from the steepness of its banks, affords few points at which an army can cross. The bridge in the rear of Almeida, is commanded by the guns of the fortress, and was then so dilapidated, as to be nearly impassable. Another bridge exists about two leagues above Almeida, at Castelle Boim, but this was likewise a difficult communication ; there is likewise a ford higher up, but between that and Sabugal, the river cannot be crossed. The only route in case of retreat, was by a stone bridge, forming part of the line of road from Ciudad Rodrigo. Lord Wellington's object, therefore, was, both to protect the approach to Almeida, and cover this important line of communication ; to do so, he had to extend his front more than his restricted numbers rendered advantageous ; but he was likewise prepared so to concentrate his troops, as to protect Almeida alone.

A small river, called the Duas Casas, runs northerly nearly parallel to the Coa ; on its banks the village is beautifully situated ; the high and open ground behind was selected for the arena of combat. Generals Spencer, Picton, and Houston's

troops were arranged behind the village ; which was occupied by Colonel Williamson's light infantry. In the same line with these divisions, on the left, and in the rear of Almeida, where is a bridge over the Duas Casas, were Generals Crawford and Campbell stationed. General Pack's Portuguese brigade with a British battalion, blockaded Almeida, the great road leading to which was guarded by Erskine's division. Two miles beyond the right of the line the guerilla horse, under Don Julian Sanchez, were posted in the village of Nava d'Aver, to add to the security derived by that flank from the difficulty of the ground in the rear.

On the 3rd May the French appeared in front of the position, and took up their ground on a ridge above Fuentes d'Honore, almost parallel to that of the British. A skirmish ensued between the light troops, followed by a heavy cannonade, and a fierce attack on the village, which post Williamson gallantly defended ; but as the enemy advanced in great numbers, it became necessary to support him successively with three additional regiments ; these charged so severely, that the French were at length driven across the Duas Casas. Night ended the contest, after 260 of the allies and a greater number of the French had fallen.

Next day Massena arrived, and having been joined by Dessieres with 1,200 horse and a battery of the imperial guard, spent the day in reconnoitring the British position ; Wellington, anticipating that he would endeavour to turn his right by crossing the Duas Casas, at Poço Velho, moved Houston's division to defend the passage of the river at that point. Wellington's expectations



were just. On the morning of the 5th, Junot's corps with the cavalry appeared in two columns on the opposite side of the valley of the Duas Casas ; to strengthen this point Wellington sent the light division on and the cavalry, and likewise moved the first and third divisions more to the right.

About seven o'clock the enemy drove in the British advanced guard, and made themselves master of Poço Velho ; their cavalry, under Montbrun, having driven in the guerilla horse, made a general charge, supported by infantry and guns, forcing the British cavalry to retire behind the infantry, who opening a smart fire, checked the assailants. The French cavalry, passing Poço Velho, formed in order of battle on the plain. And when the guerilla chief had fallen back, they were enabled to turn the right of the 7th division, and charged the British cavalry, which had moved up to support it, and who were compelled to withdraw before a superior force, after one shock had been bravely met. Houston's division, thus exposed, was strongly charged, and Captain Ramsay's horse artillery was cut off and surrounded. The light division forthwith threw itself into squares, but the main body of the French cavalry was upon them ere they could accomplish this formation ; but though some were cut down, the great mass of the troops stood firm, and the chasseurs Britanniques, retiring behind a loose wall, poured in such a fire that the enemy recoiled. The French squadrons were now observed to be in great commotion ; "men and officers," says Napier, "closed in confusion towards one point where a thick dust was rising, and where loud cries, and the sparkling of blades, and the flashing of pistols, indicated some extraordinary

occurrence. Suddenly the multitude was violently agitated, an English shout arose, the mass was rent asunder, and Norman Ramsay burst forth at the head of his battery, his horses breathing fire, and stretching like greyhounds along the plain, his guns bounding like things of no weight, and the mounted gunners in close and compact order protecting the rear." But while this brilliant action was passing in one part, the enemy were making progress in the wood, and a separation having been made between the English divisions, and the right wing nearly turned, Wellington's genius was demanded to ensure success by regaining the original position.

Accordingly the 7th division was ordered to cross the Turones, and moved down to Frenada on the left bank of the river, the light division to retire over the plain, and the cavalry to protect the rear. The first and third divisions were withdrawn, and placed in line with the Portuguese along the steep, which runs perpendicular to the ravine of Fuentes d'Honore. The utmost regularity characterized this retrograde movement, though the French cavalry strongly supported by artillery, made repeated charges upon the retiring divisions. Often Montbrun threatened to storm the light division squares, but held aloof in awe. All this time the vast plain presented a most singular sight; "it was covered by what appeared a confused multitude, amidst which the squares appeared but as specks, for there was a great concourse, composed of commissariat followers of the camp, servants, baggage, led horses, and peasants attracted by curiosity, and finally the broken piequets and parties coming out of the woods." As the troops took up their ground in the new line, the cavalry were thrown into some confusion in passing through the intervals. Mont-

brun, taking advantage of this, ordered all his troops to charge. To protect the British divisions on their line of march they had been flanked by two brigades of guns. These instantly opened fire upon the French ; the infantry poured in several close volleys, and satisfied with this rough handling Montbrun's troops retreated in confusion.

Meanwhile, the 6th French corps made strenuous efforts to gain Fuentes d'Honore. Throughout the day, this was the scene of a bloody struggle. At nine in the morning, several brigades of artillery had been brought opposite the village, and primed in readiness to fire. On a given signal, the whole of these guns opened, and several heavy columns of infantry moved to the attack. Three British regiments defended the place most gallantly, disputing every inch of ground. Colonel Cameron, the commander, was mortally wounded, and the lower part of the town carried ; but the upper part bravely held out, and the roll of musketry was incessant. Now, however, Wellington was enabled to send the reserves to the help of the out-numbered and exhausted soldiers. The French still sent forward reinforcements, till the whole of the 5th corps, and part of Druet's was engaged, and several turns of fortune took place. "At one time," says Napier, "the fighting was on the banks of the stream, and amongst the lower houses ; at another, upon the rugged heights and around the chapel ; and some of the enemy's skirmishers even penetrated completely through towards the main position ; but the village was never entirely abandoned by the defenders, and in a charge of three regiments, led by Colonel M'Kinnon against a heavy mass, which had gained the chapel eminence, a great number of the French fell." The fight lasted till dark, when



the lower part of the village was abandoned to the silent possession of the dead ; the British keeping the chapel and crags, and the French retiring to the distance of a cannon-shot beyond the stream. This hard fought battle, cost the British about 1,700 and the French more than 4,000 men. The neighbourhood of the village, the lanes, church, courtyards, and gardens, were literally covered with the dying and the dead.

Massena saw that further attempts would be vain. During the 6th, unbroken tranquillity prevailed in both lines, and on the 7th, the French were withdrawn from the front of the allied position. Orders were secretly conveyed to the Governor of Almeida to blow up the works, and escape across the Agueda, with his garrison. On the same day, Marshal Marmont arrived, and superseded Massena.

Massena, whose name had before been considered as the "watchword of victory," here concluded his services with sullied fame. Age had frozen the activity and vigour of his prime ; yet on the morning of the 5th, his judgment and skill seemed unimpaired ; he attacked the British position in its vulnerable point, and his temporary success placed the English in a more dangerous situation than any during the war. But he failed in all his other movements, and neglected to improve his advantage, though he had the superiority in every kind of force, and had advantage of the ground, while the British were exposed. Lord Wellington again displayed great genius—a skill, sagacity, and confidence which shewed him to be a tactician of the first rank. He knew that his original line was too extended : but the communication with Sabugal was too important not to be struggled for, at least

so long as it did not divert him from his main object of covering Almeida. When the enemy's movements rendered it necessary for him to concentrate his army, he at once relinquished the preferable line of communication, relying on his own skill and the bravery of his soldiers, to avoid the necessity of a retreat. Brennier, however, succeeded in blowing up part of the works of Almeida, before General Campbell, who was sent to its assistance, arrived ; and also in rejoining the French army, but with the loss of 200 of his men, and ten officers, who were made prisoners.

Lord Wellington now assumed the personal direction of the operations in the Guadiana. The divisions detached from the northern army came up in a few days ; and on the 27th, the place was completely invested. On the 29th, the trenches were opened ; and on the 5th of June, a breach was made in Fort St. Christoval. The following night the place was assaulted ; but through a mistake of the engineers, the attack failed. The ditch had not been secured, and when it was dark, the garrison had been occupied in removing the earth and rubbish from the bottom of the breach, so that seven feet of the wall remained clear. The assailants could not surmount this obstacle ; their ladders were too short, and though the men gallantly attempted the wall, their effort was vain ; the enemy all the while hurling down upon them a shower of shells, grenades, and stones, which caused great damage ; after half their number had fallen, the storming party retired. During the two next days the fire against the fort continued, and on the 9th the breach was again reported practicable ; 200 men, headed by a forlorn hope, under Lieutenant Hunt of the engineers, advanced to the attack.

The enemy had thrown in reinforcements, and the leader of the "Enfans perdus" was killed. Still the troops pressed on, but the same cause which had rendered their efforts vain on the former occasion, operated also in this ; and they were compelled to retire, after losing nearly two-thirds of their force.

On the 10th, an intercepted letter from Soult to Marmont was brought to Lord Wellington, from which it appeared that those generals had determined to unite their forces, and advance against him. He therefore converted the siege of Badajos into a blockade. He also learned that Druet's corps of 8,000 men was on its way to join Soult ; that Marmont had put his army in motion towards the south, and that Soult was gone to Merida, to meet him. Lord Wellington therefore prepared to fight Soult, should he advance to relieve Badajos ; but as he had formed a junction with both Druet and Marmont, Lord Wellington crossed the Guadiana, and took a line on the Caya, protected on the right by Elvas, and on the left by Campo Mayor. The invading army numbered 70,000 men, of which 10,000 were cavalry ; while Lord Wellington had only 56,000, including Spencer's corps, and 4,000 horse ; for such was the unhealthiness of the climate, that more than 12,000 British were in hospitals. The Portuguese troops, ill-paid and supplied, had fallen sadly out of discipline.

Lord Wellington therefore determined, though he would not shun a battle, not to invite it. He restricted himself, accordingly, to the defence of Portugal, and formed an encampment in the woods, along the banks of the Caya, which was commanded by Sir Rowland Hill ; the left under Picton, was posted on the heights in the rear of Campo

Mayor ; and the reserve under Sir R. Spencer, remained at Portalegre. Meantime Blake threatened Seville and the French rear ; but Soult having sent a detachment against him, he embarked with his artillery for Cadiz, whence he sailed to join Freire's Spanish army in Granada. Lord Wellington, conscious that the enemy could not long provide for their forces in a state of concentration, resolved to await the period when they would be obliged to break up from the frontier of the Alentejo ; this they did about the middle of July, when Soult returned to Seville, and Marmont, re-crossing the Tagus, marched on Salamanca. Lord Wellington therefore, leaving Hill with the 3rd British, and a Portuguese division, and two brigades of cavalry, to guard the Alentejo—crossed the Tagus with the rest of his army, and fixed his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo. The troops remained in cantonments for a month, without being molested by the French.

But it is time now to give our readers an idea of the state of affairs in Spain. During the summer of 1811, that country seemed more quiescent and resigned to French rule. Joseph remained at Madrid, but all his efforts to reconcile the people to his usurped sway, were vain. Oppression ground them down, and Joseph, having none of his brother's genius and firmness, could not put a stop to the course of cruelty and rapine carried on by his generals. The efforts of Suchet, now chief commander in Spain, seemed to be attended with temporary success. Arragon appeared quiet ; Tarragona, the last fortress of Catalonia, had fallen—its garrison had fled from the assault, and Suchet, under the pretext of terrifying the insurgents by a fierce example, committed the most atrocious enor-

mities. Conceiving that Catalonia was now subjugated,—though the guerilla bands still lurked in the mountain fastnesses, and the bold and able Sarsfield was watching for an opportunity of directing them against the French troops,—Suchet next advanced into Valencia, defeated several detachments of the Spanish army, and on the 16th of October besieged Murviedro. At this stage, he was placed in a difficult position, for Blake, with a still numerous army was in front, and Muia, with other irregular chiefs, having entered Arragon, were cutting off the detachments in his rear. But disunion and jealousy prevented the guerilla chieftains from giving much trouble ; and Blake, having accepted battle on the 25th, was defeated, after the Spanish army had manifested more vigour and perseverance than usual in the field. Murviedro capitulated ; and Suchet, having been reinforced, compelled Blake's army to surrender. The French had now subdued Valencia and Estramadura, but still their condition was precarious ; every where the irregular chiefs surprised their detachments, and cut off their communications. The mountains of Catalonia were still held by a patriot army under Erolles, which even dared to penetrate beyond the French frontier, and raise contributions. Marmont had been compelled to recall Dorsenne from the invasion of Gallicia, in consequence of Lord Wellington's demonstrations against Ciudad Rodrigo. Victor was still besieging Cadiz ; and Ballasteros aided by a few British under Colonel Skerret, and protected by the guns of Gibraltar, after repeated failures, at length defeated a division of Soult's army, under General Godinot, with such disgrace, that that commander, rather than encounter the reproaches of his Emperor, put an end to his life.



All this while, the Cortes, instead of endeavouring to take active measures, wasted much precious time in useless wranglings, and speculative discussions. It was a fortunate thing that this imbecile, conceited, and almost useless collection of individuals had little weight throughout the country ; for in most cases, their interference produced much more harm than good.

Lord Wellington having collected his army on the Coa, resolved to blockade Ciudad Rodrigo. The enemy hastened to concentrate their forces for its relief, by which the English commander gained two important objects ; Galicia was freed from the enemy, and the French corps which had been sent into Navarre to put down the guerillas, from whom they still experienced much loss and annoyance, withdrawn. These had been Lord Wellington's main inducements to enter upon the blockade ; he was not yet prepared to besiege the fortress ; and on hearing of Marmont's approach, he prepared to abandon it, and assume a defensive position, which would give him time to ascertain the enemy's force, and so to regulate his future movements. As a point of support, therefore, whereby he might keep up a strong advanced corps as long as possible, he strengthened by field-works the heights before Guinaldo, and arranged his troops in such a manner that, if necessary, they might be readily concentrated in that position. The combined French force now amounted to 60,000 men, 6,000 of whom were horse ; while the allied army did not exceed 40,000, including 4,000 cavalry. On the 23rd September the enemy were seen near Ciudad Rodrigo, but again retired ; the next day a large convoy entered the town under their protection.

The allied army still remained in its position, and Marmont had no certain knowledge of the intentions of the English commander. On the 25th, twenty squadrons of French cavalry, with a division of infantry and twelve guns, were seen in motion along the great road leading to Guinaldo. To meet these General Colville's brigade had scarcely taken up its position, when the enemy's guns opened a fierce cannonade, and the cavalry succeeded in driving back the Portuguese gunners from their posts. Their success lasted but a moment, for the 5th regiment, pouring in a brisk fire as they advanced, made a bayonet charge when within a few yards of the enemy; the guns were regained, and the French cavalry chased down the slope of the height, and across the ravine. The French, however, again charged the position of the 5th and 77th regiments; but being met by a volley within a few paces, were driven off in confusion. In another part of the field, a few British and German squadrons of dragoons successfully opposed greatly superior numbers; but Lord Wellington having no desire that a general engagement should then take place, had ordered the divisions if hard pressed to retire on Guinaldo; a measure which was hastened by the sudden appearance of a column of French, who, hid by the inequality of the ground, had almost succeeded in turning the British right. Orders were therefore issued that the heights should be abandoned. As the troops proceeded, they were repeatedly charged by the French cavalry, who were on each occasion defeated. At one time two regiments were charged on three faces of the square at the same moment; but these, along with a Portuguese regiment, though repeatedly enveloped by the hostile cavalry, steadily con-

tinued to retreat. Lord Wellington, whose purpose in fortifying Guinaldo had been fully answered, would now, but for various circumstances, one of which was a mistake in transmitting orders to the light division, have abandoned it. Picton and Cole were stationed there to protect the junction of Crawford's force ; and dispositions were made to receive Marmont, should he venture to attack the position. The whole of next day, however, he remained quiet, occupying himself in putting his troops through a variety of military evolutions, which they performed with such quickness and regularity as to excite the admiration of the British. Lord Wellington now withdrew his army to Alfayates, leaving his rear-guard at Aldea de Ponte.

Next day the enemy attacked this village, and twice succeeded in gaining it, but were as often driven back by the 4th division, who remained masters of this disputed post. At night the British retired farther back to a position on the heights beyond Soito, where the winding of the Coa gave protection to both flanks. Here Lord Wellington having attained stronger ground, offered battle ; but though the position was strong, and both flanks as we have observed, secured, still there was no avenue which permitted retreat, and had the enemy gained, their success must have been fatal to the British. Marmont, however, retired to Ciudad Rodrigo, where his army was separated into two divisions, one of which, under Dorsenne, returned to the north, while the other was in motion towards the pass of Banos and Pacentia. The British were cantoned, the head-quarters being at Frenada. While in the position we have noticed, Lord Wellington had the most serious difficulties to contend against. The Portuguese government entirely

neglected their duty ; the regency uttered no proclamations to call upon the people to bestir themselves ; the bridges on the line of retreat were left unrepaired, so that the roads were nearly impassable ; and as the rainy season was coming on, the army was placed in serious danger. The Portuguese pleaded falsely that they had no money for these operations, which, if true, was entirely owing to their own negligence ; for, with the exception of the devastated districts, the people were richer than they had ever been, not in goods, but in hard cash, derived from the great expenditure of the British army. Thus were Wellington's hands hampered, and difficulties heaped upon him, besides the men resisting a greatly superior force ; neither necessity nor remuneration could obtain for him adequate assistance and supplies : while Marmont and his generals had only to issue orders to the Spaniards through the prefects of the provinces, if they wished to be punctually provided with transports or other help.

A notable saying is recorded of Lord Wellington as he was preparing to quit Ciudad Rodrigo. A Spanish General, of great zeal and gallantry, to whom the British hero was much attached, observed to him,—“ Why here you have a couple of weak divisions in front of the whole French army, and you seem quite at your ease ;—it is enough to put any man in a fever.”—“ I have done according to the very best of my judgment, all that can be done,” said Wellington ; “ therefore I care not either for the enemy in front, or for anything which they may say at home.” This is an illustration of the whole character of this great man, always to make the best of present circumstances

and means, to use all foresight and prudence, and then leave the issue to Providence.

The only other military operations of consequence performed by the British troops in 1811, was a daring enterprise of Sir Rowland Hill's. At Aroyo de Molinos, he surprised by a rapid march a body of 5,000 men, who were incommoding Castanos in his efforts to organise an army in Estramadura; committed great havoc among them, taking 1,500 prisoners, with all their artillery, stores, and baggage.

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## CHAPTER XI.

Siege and Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—Siege of Badajos—Communications between Soult and Marmont interrupted—Victory of Salamanca—Retreat of the Enemy—Allied Army enters Madrid—Lord Wellington leaves Madrid—Attempt upon Burgos—Retreat of Lord Wellington—Created a Marquis—Marquis Wellington's Preparations—Reception at Cadix and Lisbon.

WHILE the army was lying in cantonments, Lord Wellington's active mind was occupied with plans for securing more regular supplies. As the country's means of transport for stores and provisions, even when conjoined with the commissariat mules attached to each division, had proved insufficient and comparatively ineffective, orders were given for the construction of a train of army-waggons upon the most approved model; 600, each capable of containing a load of 8 cwt., formed into divisions and subdivisions, with an appropriate force

attached, were allotted to the different parts of the army. Another method of approved conveyance was effected by the engineer force ; the Douro was made navigable to the confluence of the Alameda, a point forty miles higher than boats had before been able to proceed. By this much land carriage was saved, at a period when all available means of transport was needed to carry the battering-train required for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

So well satisfied was Marmont that this fortress was in no danger, that he remained perfectly quiet in his cantonments on the Tagus. Perhaps General Hill's activity in the south of Estramadura, made him suppose that a large part of the British army had been sent to the Alentejo. Under this impression he suffered his forces to be much divided : Montbrun was sent to Valencia, Bonnet to the Asturias, and Dabreton to the district of Las Montanas.

Lord Wellington, thoroughly acquainted with all these proceedings, resolved instantly to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo. Fascines and Gabions were prepared, and by the 6th of January, 1812, every thing was ready for the attack. A bridge had been laid down at Salices, the stores brought up, and the place already surrounded by the light troops. The head-quarters were removed to Gallegos ; and on the 7th Lord Wellington, attended only by Colonel Fletcher and a few officers, forded the Alameda, and reconnoitred the defences. The investment was fixed for the following day. Four divisions were appointed for the siege ; no camp equipage was taken with them, and as the ground was open and afforded no cover, they took up their quarters in the nearest villages ; one division, carrying a day's provision ready cooked, it was ar-

ranged should ford the river every twenty-four hours, and thus alternately carry on the works.

The first object was to capture a redoubt situated on the upper Tison, which, after some trouble and loss, was effected. Ground was immediately broken upon its flank, and, though the soil was stony, by daylight the work was three feet deep and four wide. On the 9th, 1,200 workmen commenced three batteries for eleven guns each, under a heavy fire of shells and grape. Before the next morning the labourers were under cover, and a ditch sunk in front to provide earth ; for the batteries were made eighteen feet thick at top, to resist the very powerful artillery of the besieged. Next day the 4th division laboured in the trenches, exposed to a heavy fire, and by night the communication from the parallel to the works was opened. The day after the magazines in the batteries were excavated, and the approaches widened, but the fire was destructive, and the shells came so fast into the ditch in front that the troops were withdrawn, and the earth raised from the inside. Much loss was sustained by salvos of shells, with long fuses, whose simultaneous explosion cut away the parapets in a remarkable manner. The French also brought a howitzer to bear from a near point, by which many men were killed and wounded. During the night little progress was made, as the weather was very cold, and the enemy's fire was briskly kept up. On that of the 13th the convent of Santa Cruz was carried, and a lodgment effected in it. Lord Wellington now heard that Marmot was collecting succours for the place ; he resolved, therefore, to deviate from the regular method, in order to gain time ; to open a breach with his counter-batteries, which were not so much as 600 yards from the curtain, and then

storm without blowing up the counter-scarp. The whole army was brought up from the distant quarters, and posted in the villages on the Coa, prepared if necessary to cross the Alameda, and give battle.

On the 14th the French made a sally and overturned the gabions of the sap; they even penetrated to the parallel, and had nearly entered the batteries, when a few workmen collected and kept them back till support came, and thus saved the guns. This accident, together with the death of the engineer on duty, and the fire kept up from the ramparts, delayed the opening of the breaching-batteries until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when a cannonade from twenty-five heavy pieces commenced upon the "fausse braye," and the rampart, two pieces being likewise pointed against the convent of St. Francisco. "Then," says Napier, "was beheld a spectacle at once fearful and sublime. The enemy replied to the assailants' fire with more than 50 guns, the bellowing of 80 large cannon shook the ground far and wide, the smoke rested in heavy volumes upon the battlements of the place, or curled in light wreaths about the numerous spires; the shells, hissing through the air, seemed fiery serpents leaping from the darkness, the walls crashed to the stroke of the bullet, and the distant mountains faintly returning the sound, appeared to mourn over the falling city. And when night put an end to the turmoil, the quick clatter of musketry was heard like the pelting of hail after a peal of thunder, for the 40th regiment assaulted and carried the convent of St. Francisco, and established itself in the suburb on the left of the attack." Next day so much impression was made on the ramparts that the breach was commenced at the turret, and five more guns were mounted. On the 16th, operations



went vigorously forward, though a thick fog came on, the small breach had been opened and the place was summoned, without effect. A sharp fire of musketry was kept up at night against the great breach ; and the riflemen of the light division, from the pits, marked off the enemy's gunners. Next day the cannonade was very hot on both sides, and large masses of the wall came down ; but several of the British guns were dismounted, the batteries injured, and many men killed. The riflemen in the pits were also much annoyed by grape ; but towards evening they made their superiority felt, the French could only fire from the more distant embrasures. On the 18th the besiegers resumed their fire with great violence. The turret was shaken at the small breach, the large one was practicable in the middle, and the enemy began re-trenching it ; little progress however was made in the sap. On the 19th, the breaches being practicable, a plan of attack was drawn out, after Major Sturgeon had closely examined the place ; the assault was ordered, and the battering guns directed against the artillery of the ramparts.

The arrangements for the assault were as follows —Piston's division, comprising M'Kinnon's and Campbell's brigades, to attack the main breach, preceded by a storming party ; while, to divert the garrison, O'Toole, with five companies of the rifles and the light companies of two regiments, made a demonstration on the right. The light division, Vandeleur's, and Barnard's brigades, to assault the smaller breach, headed by Napier's storming party of 300 men. And Pack's brigade was to make a false attack on the outworks of St. Iago, and the convent of La Caridada, with instructions to turn it into a real one, should circumstances permit.

"All the troops reached their different posts without seeming to attract the attention of the enemy ; and before the signal was given, as Lord Wellington, who in person had been pointing out the lesser breach to Major Napier, was still at the convent of St. Francisco, the attack on the right commenced, and was instantly taken up along the whole line. Then the space between the army and the ditch was covered with soldiers, and ravaged by a storm of grape from the ramparts. The storming parties of the 3rd division jumped out of the parallel when the first shout arose, but so rapid had been the movements on their right, that before they could reach the ditch, Ridge, Dunken, and Campbell, with the 5th, 77th, and 94th regiments, had already scoured the 'fausse braye,' and were pushing up the great breach, amidst the bursting of shells, the whistling of grape and muskets, and the shrill cries of the French who were driven fighting behind the intrenchments. There however they rallied, and aided by the musketry from the houses, made hard battle for their post : none could go back on either side, and yet the British could not get forward, and men and officers, falling in heaps, choked up the passage, which from minute to minute was raked with grape, from two guns, flanking the top of the breach at the distance of a few yards ; thus striving and trampling alike on the dead and the wounded these brave men maintained the combat.

"Meanwhile the stormers of the light division, who had three hundred yards to clear, would not wait for the hay-bags, but with extraordinary swiftness running to the crest of the glacis, jumped down the scarp, a depth of eleven feet, and rushed up the 'fausse braye' under a smashing discharge of grape

and musketry. The bottom of the ditch was dark and intricate, and the forlorn hope took too much to their left ; but the storming party went straight to the breach, which was so contracted that a gun placed lengthwise across the top nearly blocked up the opening. Here the forlorn hope rejoined the stormers, but when two-thirds of the ascent were gained, the leading men, crushed together by the narrowness of the place, staggered under the weight of the enemy's fire ; and such is the instinct of self-defence, that although no man had been allowed to load, every musket in the crowd was snapped. The commander Major Napier, was at this moment stricken to the earth by a grape shot which shattered his arm, but he called on his men to trust to their bayonets, and all the officers simultaneously sprang to the front, when the charge was renewed with a furious shout, and the entrance was gained. The supporting regiments coming up in sections, abreast, then reached the rampart, the 52nd wheeled to the left, the 43rd to the right, and the place was won. During this contest which lasted only a few minutes, after the 'fausse braye' was passed, the fighting had continued at the great breach with unabated violence, but when the 43rd, and the stormers of the light division, came pouring down upon the right flank of the French, the latter bent before the storm ; at the same moment, the explosion of three wall magazines destroyed many persons, and the 3rd division with a mighty effort broke through the intrenchments. The garrison indeed still fought for a moment in the streets, but finally fled to the castle, where Mr. Gurwood, who, though wounded, had been amongst the foremost at the breach, received the Governor's sword.

"The allies now plunged into the streets from all

quarters, for O'Toole's attack was also successful, and at the other side of the town, Pack's Portuguese, meeting no resistance, had entered the place, and the reserves also came in. Then throwing off the restraints of discipline, the troops committed frightful excesses. The town was fired in three or four places, the soldiers menaced their officers, and shot each other; many were killed in the market-place. Intoxication soon increased the tumult; disorder every where prevailed, and at last, the fury rising to an absolute madness, a fire was wilfully lighted in the middle of the great magazine, when the town and all in it, would have been blown to atoms, but for the energetic courage of some officers and a few soldiers who still preserved their senses.

"Of the French, 300 had fallen, 1,500 were made prisoners, and besides the immense stores of ammunition, above 150 pieces of artillery, including the battering-train of Marmont's army, were captured in the place. The whole loss of the allies, was about 1,200 soldiers and 90 officers, and of these about 650 men and 60 officers had been slain or hurt at the breaches. General Crawford and General M'Kinnon, the former a man of great ability, were killed, and with them died many gallant men. General Vandaleur, Colonel Colborne, and a crowd of inferior rank, were wounded; and unhappily the slaughter did not end with the battle, for the next day as the prisoners and their escort were marching out by the breach, an accidental explosion took place, and numbers of both were blown into the air."\*

The capture of Ciudad Rodrigo was undoubtedly a most brilliant and important exploit. It was ta-

\* Napier's Peninsular War, Vol. VI.

ken in the depth of winter, and with a celerity which much astonished Marmont, who was at the very time collecting 60,000 men for its relief, confident of success, when he heard that the British standard already floated above its ramparts, that the trenches were filled, and the breaches repaired. On the 16th of January, he had thus written to Berthier :—" I had collected five divisions for the purpose of throwing supplies into Ciudad Rodrigo ; but this force is now inadequate for the object. I am therefore under the necessity of recalling two divisions from the army of the north. I shall then have about 60,000 men, with whom I shall march against the enemy. You may expect events as fortunate as glorious to the French arms." Four days after, he again wrote to announce his blasted hopes. " On the 16th, the English batteries opened their fire at a great distance. On the 19th the place was taken by storm, and fell into the power of the enemy. There is something so *incomprehensible* in this, that I allow myself no observation. I am not yet provided with the requisite information." These extracts of themselves form a sufficient eulogium upon Lord Wellington's skill, activity, and boldness.

The Spanish people shewed their sense of gratitude for this great service rendered to the national cause. In the churches of Cadiz, *Te Deum* was sung ; a vote of thanks to the British commander carried by acclamation in the Cortes ; and as a more permanent testimony of his merits, he was made a grandee of the first rank, with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. In his own country and by his own government, Lord Wellington's services were justly appreciated. The British people saw

what their army could do under the command of such a leader.

All classes agreed that no honour could be too high for him whose career promised to be attended by still more important conquests. Lord Wellington was raised to the dignity of Earl of the United Kingdom ; and Parliament, besides a vote of thanks to his army, annexed to his title an annuity of £2,000 per annum, as a testimony of the public gratitude. Lord Wellington, having taken measures to repair the works of Ciudad Rodrigo, and supplying it well with provisions, committed it to a Spanish governor, and returned to Frenada. He was bent upon a still more arduous enterprise—the capture of Badajos, before Soult and Marmont could adopt effective measures for its relief. For the success of this measure, secrecy and rapidity were indispensable. Wellington resolved to keep the enemy ignorant of his intention till the last possible moment. The battering-guns were embarked in large vessels at Lisbon under a false destination ; and when at sea, conveyed on board small ones, and brought up the river Ladao, and thence transported across the Alentejo to Badajos, by a route likely to escape the enemy's observation. The same regard to caution and concealment was paid in the management of all the other preparatory details ; on the completion of which, the army broke up from its quarters, and reached Elvas on the 11th of March. On the 16th, it crossed the Guadiana, and the 3rd, 4th, and light divisions, under Beresford and Picton, invested Badajos without opposition. Generals Graham and Hill's divisions advanced to occupy Merida and Almedralejo, thus covering that part of the army immediately engaged in the siege, and observing the move-

ments of Soult's corps of 35,000 men. It was probable that if he united with Marmont, who had a much stronger force at command, a battle would take place for the relief of the fortress. The preparations at head-quarters were now completed after much exertion on the part of Lord Wellington, who, in consequence of the inactivity of the Portuguese authorities, had personally to superintend and arrange even the most minute details.

Lord Wellington, in company with the commanding engineer, closely examined the fortress, which which was materially strengthened and improved by the defenders. The scarp had been heightened, the outworks strongly finished, and a portion of the *enceinte* covered by an impassable inundation. The castle was so strong, that it seemed impossible regularly to attack it; for the British army had no mortars nor miners, and the sappers were without experience. Their guns were too few in proportion to the number and weight of those mounted on this well-armed and provided fortress, the governor of which had successfully repulsed two former attempts, with much fewer resources and a less steady garrison than he had now at command. It was plain, that against a regular attack he was secure; it remained to be seen, whether he could resist the courage and resolution of the British.

On the 17th the weather, before fine, became cold and tempestuous. Rain descended in torrents during the afternoon and through the night; this obscurity was taken advantage of by the English, who broke ground within 150 yards of Fort Picúrina. The whole of next day the troops laboured in the trenches, exposed to a heavy cannonade from the town, which however had little effect. The garrison raised the parapets of La Picúrina, lined

the top of the covered way with sand-bags, and planting marksmen there, galled the English in their works, who made reprisals in the same manner. On the 19th, a brisk fire of artillery was kept up from the town ; and at night, a sortie was made with 1,500 infantry and 40 horse. The working-parties were driven back, but receiving help, rallied, and the enemy was soon forced to retire, without effecting much. The British lost 150, killed and wounded, Colonel Fletcher, the engineer, being amongst the latter.

At this time, the state of the weather caused much obstruction to the progress of the besiegers. The trenches on the low ground were flooded, and the earth full of moisture ; so that double working parties were required, one to bale out the water with buckets, and the other to carry on the works. But the weather having somewhat improved, several batteries were completed by the 24th. Serious difficulty was caused by a sudden swell of the Guadiana river, which impeded greatly the supplies of the troops, as the only communication was by flying bridges, the working of which was much hindered by an adverse current.

Six batteries, mounting ten 24-pounders, eleven 18-pounders, and seven howitzers, were however completed ; two of these opened fire on La Picúrina, the others being brought to bear upon its supporting defences. The guns of this fort were soon silenced, but its defences sustained little injury, only a few palisades being broken down in the covered way ; in fact, any assault less determined than that which it encountered would have been unavailing. The night of the 25th was fixed upon for the attack of La Picúrina, which was committed to Major-General Kempt with 500 of the 3rd division.



One detachment of 200 to pass round the flank of the work, and force the gorge ; another of equal strength to march upon the communication with the town, and leaving one half of its numbers to meet the advance of any assistance that might be sent, and to support with the remainder the movement on the gorge ; and a reserve of 100 men to be formed in the advance battery, to aid by escalading the front. About 9 o'clock the troops moved upon the fort, which dark and silent before, now seemed "one mass of fire." In spite of the heavy volleys of musketry, they strove to break through the palisades in the rear ; but finding this vain, they turned against the face of the work, but were resisted by the depth of the ditch, and the slanting stakes which surmounted the brick-work. As the combat thickened and became more desperate, the enemy firing with deadly effect, the reserve was ordered to rush on the fort, and a fierce conflict ensued, for a battalion was despatched from the town to aid it, but was beaten back by the party on the communication. "The guns of Badajoz, and of the castle now opened, the guard of the trenches replied with musketry, rockets were thrown up by the besieged, and the shrill sound of alarm bells, mixing with the shouts of the combatants increased the tumult. Still La Picúrina sent out streams of fire, by the light of which, dark figures were seen furiously struggling on the ramparts ; for the reserve first escaladed the front where the artillery had beaten down the pales ; and the other assailants had thrown their ladders on the flanks in the manner of bridges, from the brink of the ditch to the slanting stakes, and all were fighting hand to hand with the enemy ; meanwhile the axe-men of the light division, compassing the fort, discovered the gate, and hewing it

down, broke in by the rear." Still the struggle continued : several British officers fell wounded, on, or beyond the ramparts ; one was shot two yards from the gate, and several had fallen outside. It was not till more than half the garrison were slain that the commandant with 86 men surrendered, while some, who had rushed out of the gate, were drowned in attempting to cross the inundation. The total loss on the part of the British amounted to 200 men. The capture of La Picúrina enabled the British to establish their second parallel with comparatively little loss ; on the 26th three breaching-batteries opened within 300 yards, and General Leith's division arrived at Elvas four days after, and also joined the camp before Badajoz. On the morning of the 5th of April, the breaches were reported practicable ; and in the large one, a wide opening was made.

Lord Wellington, who saw that no time must be lost in case of Soult's advance, and who was aware that Marmont was menacing the frontier of Beira, was at first anxious that the assault should be made that same evening ; but upon examining the fortress, he suspected that there were interior and formidable intrenchments. The attack was therefore deferred for twenty-four hours, which were occupied in directing a very heavy fire against the old wall of the curtain between the two breaches, so as to make another, by which the intrenchments might be turned. Under the fire of the united batteries, the masonry of the old curtain crumbled away, and a third breach was made. Orders were given for the assault, which was appointed for 10 o'clock on the night of the 6th. The following was the outline of the plan. Picton with the 3rd division, to attempt the castle by escalade ; the 4th and light di-

visions, under Collville and Barnard, to storm the breaches in the bastions of La Trinidad, Santa Maria, and in the connecting curtain ; Leith with the 5th to escalate the rampart near the western gate ; Walker with the left brigade, to feign an attack on the Fort Pardaleros, convertible, under favourable circumstances, into a real one ; and Power, with the Portuguese division, to threaten the *tete du pont*, and the other works on the right of the Guadiana.

"The night was dry but clouded, the air thick with watery exhalations from the rivers, the ramparts and trenches unusually still ; yet a low murmur pervaded the latter, and in the former, lights were seen to flit here and there, while the deep voices of the sentinels at times proclaimed that all was well in Badajos.

"The French, confiding in Phillipon's direful skill, watched from their lofty station the approach of enemies, whom they had twice before baffled, and now hoped to drive a third time blasted and ruined from the walls ; the British, standing in deep columns, was as eager to meet that fiery destruction as the others were to pour it down ; and both were alike terrible for their strength, their discipline, and the passions awakened in their resolute hearts.

"Former failures there were to avenge, and on either side, such leaders as left no excuse for weakness in the hour of trial ; and the possession of Badajos was become a point of honour, personal with the soldiers of each nation. But the strong desire for glory was in the British, dashed with a hatred of the citizens on an old grudge, and recent toil and hardship, with much spilling of blood, had made many incredibly savage : for these things

render the noble-minded averse to cruelty, but harden the vulgar spirit. Numbers also, like Cæsar's centurion who could not forget the plunder of Avaricum, were heated with the recollection of Ciudad Rodrigo, and thirsted for spoil. Thus every spirit found a cause of excitement, the wondrous power of discipline bound the whole together as with a band of iron, and in the pride of arms none doubted their might, to bear down every obstacle that man could oppose to their fury.

"At ten o'clock, the castle of San Roque, the breaches, the Pardaleras, the distant bastion of San Vincente, and the bridge-head on the other side of the Guadiana, were to have been simultaneously assailed, and it was hoped that the strength of the enemy would shrivel within that fiery girdle. But many are the disappointments of war. An unforeseen accident delayed the attack of the fifth division; and a lighted carcass, thrown from the castle, falling close to where the men of the third division were drawn up, discovered their array, and obliged them to anticipate the signal by half an hour. Then, every thing being suddenly disturbed, the double columns of the fourth and light divisions also moved silently and swiftly against the breaches, and the guard of the trenches, rushing forward with a shout, encompassed the San Roque with fire, and broke in so violently, that scarcely any resistance was made.

"But a sudden blaze of light and the rattling of musketry indicated the commencement of a most vehement combat at the castle. There General Kempt, (for Picton hurt by a fall, in the camp, and expecting no change in the hour, was not present) there General Kempt, I say, led the third division; he had passed Rivillas, in single files by a narrow

bridge, under a terrible musketry, and then re-forming, and running up the rugged hill, had reached the foot of the castle, when he fell severely wounded, and being carried back to the trenches, met Picton, who hastened forward to take the command. Meanwhile his troops spreading along the front, reared their heavy ladders, some against the lofty castle, some against the adjoining front on the left, and with incredible courage ascended amidst showers of heavy stones, logs of wood, and bursting shells rolled off the parapet, while from the flanks the enemy plied his musketry with a fearful rapidity, and in front, with pikes and bayonets, stabbing the leading assailants, or pushed the ladders from the walls; and all this attended with deafening shouts, and the crash of breaking ladders, and the shrieks of crushed soldiers answering to the sullen stroke of the falling weights.

"Still swarming round the remaining ladders, these undaunted veterans strove who should first climb; until all being overturned, the French shouted 'Victory,' and the British, baffled, but untamed, fell back a few paces, and took shelter under the rugged edge of the hill. Here when the broken ranks were somewhat re-formed the heroic Colonel Ridge, springing forward, called, with a stentorian voice, on his men to follow, and seizing a ladder, once more raised it against the castle, yet to the right of the former attack, where the wall was lower, and an embrasure offered some facility. A second ladder was soon placed alongside of the first, by the grenadier officer Cauch, and the next instant he and Ridge were on the rampart, the shouting troops pressed after them, the garrison amazed, and in a manner surprised, were driven fighting through the double gate into the town, and the castle was won.

A reinforcement, sent from the French reserve, then came up, a sharp action followed, both sides fired through the gate, and the enemy retired, but Ridge fell, and no man died that night with more glory—yet many died, and there was much glory.

“During these events, the tumult at the breaches was such as if the very earth had been rent asunder, and its central fires were bursting upwards uncontrolled. The two divisions had reached the glacis, just as the firing at the castle had commenced, and the flash of a single musket discharged from the covered way as a signal, shewed them that the French were ready; yet no stir was heard, and darkness covered the breaches. Some hay packs were then thrown, some ladders were placed, and the forlorn hopes and storming parties of the light division, above 500 in all, had descended into the ditch without opposition, when a bright flame shooting upwards, displayed all the terrors of the scene. The ramparts crowded with dark figures and glittering arms, were seen on the one side, and on the other, the red columns of the British deep and broad, were coming on like streams of burning lava; it was the touch of the magician’s wand, for a crash of thunder followed, and with incredible violence the storming parties were dashed to pieces by the explosion of hundreds of shells and powder-barrels.

“For an instant the light division stood on the brink of the ditch, amazed at the terrific sight; then, with a shout that matched even the sound of the explosion, flew down the ladders, or disdaining their aid, leaped, reckless of the depth, into the gulph below; and nearly at the same moment, amidst a blaze of musketry that dazzled the eyes, the 4th division came running in, and descended with a like fury. There were, however, only five

ladders for both columns, which were close together ; and a deep cut made in the bottom of the ditch, as far as the counter-guard of the Trinidad, was filled with water from the inundation : into this watery snare the head of the 4th division fell, and it is said that above 100 of the Fusileers (the men of Albuera) were smothered. Those who followed, checked not, but as if such a disaster had been expected, turned to the left, and thus came upon the face of the unfinished ravelin, which, being rough and broken, was mistaken for their breach, and instantly covered with men ; yet a wide and deep chasm was still between them and the ramparts, from whence came a deadly fire, wasting their ranks. Thus baffled, they also commenced a rapid discharge of musketry, and disorder ensued ; for the men of the light division, whose conducting engineer had been disabled early, and whose flank was confined by an unfinished ditch, intended to cut off the bastion of Santa Maria, rushed towards the breaches of the curtain and the Trinidad, which were indeed before them, but which the 4th division were destined to storm.

“Great was the confusion, for now the ravelin was crowned with men of both divisions, and while some continued to fire, others jumped down and ran towards the breach ; many also passed between the ravelin and the counter-guard of the Trinidad : the two divisions got mixed, and the reserves, which should have remained at the quarries, also came pouring in, until the ditch was quite filled, the rear still crowding forward, and all cheering vehemently. The enemy’s shouts also were loud and terrible ; and the bursting of shells and of grenades, the roaring of the guns from the flanks,

answered by the iron howitzers from the battery of the parallel, the heavy roll and horrid explosion of the powder-barrels, the whizzing flight of the blazing splinters, the loud exhortations of the officers, and the continued clatter of the muskets, made a maddening din.

"Now a multitude bounded up the great breach as if driven by a whirlwind, but across the top glittered a range of sword blades, sharp-pointed, keen-edged on both sides, and firmly fixed in ponderous beams, which were chained together and set deep in the ruins; and for ten feet in front the ascent was covered with loose planks, studded with sharp iron points, on which the feet of the foremost being set the planks moved, and the unhappy soldiers, falling forward on the pikes, rolled down upon the ranks behind. Then the Frenchmen, shouting at the success of this stratagem, and leaping forward, plied their shot with terrible rapidity, for every man had several muskets; and each musket, in addition to its ordinary charge, contained a small cylinder of wood stuck full of leaden slugs, which scattered like hail when they were discharged.

"Again the assailants rushed up the breaches, and again the sword-blades, immovable and impassable, stopped their charge, and the hissing shells and thundering powder-barrels exploded unceasingly. Hundreds of men had fallen, and hundreds more were dropping, but still the heroic officers called aloud for new trials, and sometimes followed by many, sometimes by few, ascended the ruins; and so furious were the men themselves, that in one of these charges, the rear strove to push the foremost on to the sword-blades, willing to make a bridge of their writhing bodies, but the



others frustrated the attempt by dropping down ; and men fell so fast from the shot, that it was hard to know who went down voluntarily, and who were stricken ; and many stooped unhurt that never rose again. Vain also it would have been to break through the sword-blades, for the trench and parapet behind the breach were finished, and the assailants, crowded even into a narrower space than the ditch was, would still have been separated from their enemies, and the slaughter would have continued.

" At the beginning of this dreadful conflict, Colonel Andrew Barnard had with prodigious efforts separated his division from the other, and preserved some degree of military array ; but now the tumult was such that no command could be heard distinctly, except by those close at hand, and the mutilated carcasses heaped on each other, and the wounded, struggling to avoid being trampled upon, broke the formations ; order was impossible ! Yet officers of all stations, followed more or less numerous by the men, were seen to start out, as if struck by a sudden madness, and rush into the breach, which yawning and glittering with steel, seemed like the mouth of some huge dragon belching forth smoke and flame. In one of these attempts, Colonel Macleod of the 43rd, a young man, whose feeble body would have been quite unfit for war, if it had not been sustained by an unconquerable spirit, was killed. Wherever his voice was heard, there his soldiers gathered, and with such strong resolution did he lead them up the fatal ruins, that when one behind him, in falling, plunged a bayonet into his back, he complained not, and, continuing his course, was shot dead

within a yard of the sword-blades. But there was no want of gallant leaders, or desperate followers.

"Two hours spent in these vain efforts convinced the soldiers that the breach of the Trinidad was impregnable ; and as the opening in the curtain, although less strong, was retired, and the approach to it impeded by deep holes, and cuts made in the ditch, the troops did not much notice it after the partial failure of one attack which had been made early. Gathering in dark groups, and leaning on their muskets, they looked up with sullen desperation at Trinidad, while the enemy, stepping out on the ramparts, and aiming their shots by the light of the fire-balls which they threw over, asked, as their victims fell, *why they did not come into Badajoz ?*

"In this dreadful situation, while the dead were lying in heaps, and others continually falling, the wounded crawling about to get some shelter from the merciless fire above, and withal a sickening stench from the burnt flesh of the slain, Captain Nicholas, of the engineers, was observed by Mr. Shaw, of the 43rd, making incredible efforts to force his way with a few men, into Santa Maria bastion. Shaw having collected about 50 soldiers of all regiments, joined him, and although there was a deep cut along the foot of this breach also, it was instantly passed, and these young officers at the head of their gallant band, rushed up the slope of the ruins ; but when they had gained two-thirds of the ascent, a concentrated fire of musketry and grape, dashed nearly the whole dead to the earth ! Nicholas was mortally wounded, and the intrepid Shaw stood alone ! After this no further effort was made at any point, and the troops remained passive, but unflinching, beneath the enemy's shot,

which streamed without intermission ; for, of the riflemen on the glacis, many leaping early into the ditch, had joined in the assault, and the rest, raked by a cross fire of grape from the distant bastions, baffled in their aim by the smoke and flames from the explosions, and too few in number, had entirely failed to quell the French musketry.

“ About midnight, when 2,000 brave men had fallen, Wellington, who was on a height close to the quarries, sent orders for the remainder to retire and re-form for a second assault ; for he had just then heard that the castle was taken, and thinking the enemy would still hold out in the town, was resolved to assail the breaches again. This retreat from the ditch was, however, not effected without further carnage and confusion, for the French fire never slackened, and a cry arose that the enemy were making a sally, from the distant flanks, which caused a rush towards the ladders ; the groans and lamentations of the wounded who could not move, and expected to be slain, increased ; many officers who had not heard of the order, endeavoured to stop the soldiers from going back, and some would even have removed the ladders, but were unable to break the crowd.

“ All this time the third division was lying close in the castle, and either from a fear of risking the loss of a point which ensured the capture of the place, or that the egress was too difficult, made no attempt to drive away the enemy from the breaches. On the other side, however, the fifth division had commenced the false attack on the Pardaleras, and on the right of the Guadiana, the Portuguese were sharply engaged at the bridge ; thus the town was girded with fire, for General Walker's brigade having passed on during the feint on the Pardaleras,

was escalating the distant bastion of San Vincente. His troops had advanced along the banks of the river, and reached the French guard-house, at the barrier-gate, undiscovered, for the ripple of the waters smothered the sound of their footsteps ; but just then the explosion at the breaches took place, the moon shone out, and the French sentinels, discovering the columns, fired. The British troops immediately springing forward under a sharp fire of musketry, began to hew down the wooden barrier at the covered way, while the Portuguese, being panic-stricken, threw down the scaling ladders. Nevertheless the others snatched them up again, and forcing the barrier, jumped into the ditch ; but the guiding engineer officer was killed, and there was a *cunette* which embarrassed the column ; and when the foremost men succeeded in rearing the ladders, the latter were found too short ; for the walls were generally above 30 feet high. Meanwhile the fire of the French was deadly, a small mine was sprung beneath the soldier's feet, beams of wood and live shells were rolled over on their heads, showers of grape from the flank swept the ditch, and man after man dropped dead from the ladders.

“ Fortunately some of the defenders having been called away to aid in recovering the castle, the ramparts were not entirely manned, and the assailants, having discovered a corner of the bastion where the scarp was only 20 feet high, placed three ladders there under an embrasure which had no gun, and was only stopped with a gabion. Some men got up, but with difficulty, for the ladders were still too short ; and the first man who gained the top was pushed up by his comrades, and then drew others after him, until many had gained the sum-

mit ; and though the French shot heavily against them, from both flanks, and from a house in front, they thickened and could not be driven back ; half the 4th regiment entered the town itself, to dislodge the enemy from the houses, while the others pushed along the rampart towards the breach, and by dint of hard fighting, successively won three bastions.

“ In the last of these combats, General Walker, leaped forward, sword in hand,—at the moment when one of the enemy’s cannoneers was discharging a gun,—all covered with so many wounds that it was wonderful how he could survive ; some of the soldiers immediately after perceiving a lighted match on the ground, cried out, ‘ A mine ! ’ At that word, such is the power of imagination, those troops whom neither the strong barrier, nor the deep ditch, nor the high walls, nor the deadly fire of the enemy could stop, staggered back appalled by a chimera of their own raising, and in this disorder a French reserve, under General Viellande, drove on them with a firm and rapid charge, and pitching some men over the walls, and killing others outright, again cleansed the ramparts even to the San Vincente. There, however, Leith had placed Colonel Nugent with a battalion of the 38th as a reserve, and when the French came up, shouting and slaying all before them, this battalion, about 200 strong, arose, and with one close volley, destroyed them.

“ Then the panic ceased, the soldiers rallied, and in compact order once more charged along the walls towards the breaches, but the French, although turned on both flanks, and abandoned by fortune, did not yet yield ; and meanwhile the detachment of the 4th regiment which had entered the town when the San Vincente was first carried, was

strangely situated, for the streets were empty and brilliantly illuminated, and no person was seen ; yet a low buzz and whisper were heard around, lattices were now and then gently opened, and from time to time, shots were fired from underneath the doors of the houses by the Spaniards. However, the troops with bugles sounding, advanced to the great square of the town, and in their progress captured several mules going with ammunition to the breaches ; but the square itself was as empty and silent as the streets, and the houses as bright with lamps ; a terrible enchantment seemed to be in operation, for they saw nothing but light, and heard only the low whispers close around them, while the tumult at the breaches was like the crashing of thunder.

“ There, indeed, the fight was still plainly raging, and hence, quitting the square, they attempted to take the garrison in reverse, by attacking the ramparts from the town-side ; but they were received by a rolling musketry, driven back with loss, and resumed their movements through the streets. At last the breaches were abandoned by the French, other parties entered the place, desultory combats took place in various parts, and finally Generals Viellande and Phillipon, (who was wounded) seeing all ruined, passed the bridge with a few hundred soldiers, and entered San Cristoval, where they all surrendered early the next morning upon summons, to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who had with great readiness pushed through the town to the draw-bridge ere they had time to organize further resistance. But even in the moment of ruin the night before, the noble governor had sent some horsemen out from the fort to carry the news to Soult’s army, and they reached him in time to prevent a greater misfortune.

" Now commenced that wild and desperate wickedness which tarnished the lustre of the soldier's heroism. All indeed were not alike, for hundreds risked and many lost their lives in attempting to stop the violence, but the madness generally prevailed ; and as the worst men were leaders here, all the dreadful passions of human nature were displayed. Shameless rapacity, brutal intemperance, savage lust, cruelty, and murder, shrieks and piteous lamentations, groans, shouts, imprecations, the hissing of fires bursting from the houses, the crashing of doors and windows, and the reports of muskets used in violence, resounded for two days and nights in the streets of Badajos ! On the third, when the city was sacked, when the soldiers were exhausted by their own excesses, the tumult rather subsided, than was quelled. The wounded were then looked to, and the dead disposed of.

" Five thousand men and officers fell during the siege, and of these, including 700 Portuguese, 3,500 had been stricken in the assault ; 60 officers, and more than 700 men being slain on the spot. The five Generals, Kempt, Harvey, Bowes, Colville, and Picton, were wounded, the first three severely. About 600 men and officers fell in the escalade of San Vincente, as many at the castle, and more than 2,000 at the breaches, each division there losing 1,200 ! And how deadly the strife was, at that point, may be gathered from this, that the 43rd and 52nd regiments of the light division alone, lost more men than the seven regiments of the 3rd division at the castle !

" Let any man picture to himself this frightful carnage, taking place in a space less than 100 square yards. Let him consider that the slain died not all suddenly, nor by one manner of death ; that some

perished by steel, some by shot, some by water, that some were crushed and mangled by heavy weights, some trampled upon, some dashed to atoms by the fiery explosions ; that four hours this destruction was endured without shrinking, and that the town was won at last, let any man consider this, and he must admit that a British army bears with it an awful power. And false would it be, to say that the French were feeble men, for the garrison stood and fought manfully, and with good discipline. Shame there was none on any side. Yet who shall do justice to the bravery of the soldiers ? The noble emulation of the officers ? \* \* \* \* When the extent of the night's havoc was made known to Wellington, the firmness of his nature gave way for a moment, and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers.”\*

It seems unnecessary to do more than invite the reader's admiration of the energy and genius displayed by Lord Wellington in thus taking from the French, two such strong fortresses as Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos ; and that too in the face of Soult and Marmont, whose combined numbers seemed enough to crush the British force. The French were painfully astonished at his success, and Napoleon looked with surprise upon the discomfiture of his best generals and chosen armies. He knew not that the tide of French victory and success had already turned ; and though Portugal was wrested from him, and Spain, after so much toil and blood, still unsubdued, he was preparing to set out on his mad expedition to Russia, unconscious of the greater reverses he was to meet with there, and ignorant that before an enemy whom he regarded.

\* Napier's Peninsular War, Vol. IV.



as barbarian, the flower of his army were to perish amid the snows. Meanwhile his preparations for the Russian war drew off much of his attention from Spain.

The honours Lord Wellington received from the Spanish government, did not add much to his actual resources. The Spanish character indeed was clearly shewn throughout this war ; " nothing could subdue the spirit of the people, nothing teach wisdom to their rulers." The Cortes wasted their time idly, and often worse than idly ; busying themselves with theoretical plans, instead of striving to obtain practical results ; some real grievances they did indeed remove, and among others abolished that execrable and iniquitous tribunal, the Inquisition. But to counterbalance these unquestionable benefits, they violated justice towards the clergy and nobles ; and acted so as to irritate and offend the nation. The armies were still unimproved ; the only military dependence on which Wellington could repose, was in his own troops and the Portuguese ; for the bravery of the Spaniards was almost always neutralized by the ignorance, rashness, prejudice, or inactivity of their generals. It was still possible, however, that some striking success gained by the British, might rouse to exertion even that sluggish government, and excite anew the people to such noble deeds as they had done in the commencement of the struggle.

Before further operations were carried on it was highly important to break the communication between Soult and Marmont, which was by means of a bridge of boats occupying the site of the former bridge at Almaraz, a passage defended by formidable works on both sides of the river. This was effected in May, by General Hill with his usual

ability and skill, and in June, Lord Wellington led his army from the Agueda to Salamanca, took the forts which the French had constructed in that city, captured 800 prisoners, and pursued Marmont to the Douro. Marmont, however, having possession of all the bridges, concentrated his troops between Pollos and Tordesillas, where he was joined by Bonnet's army from Asturias, which, as it gave him a considerable superiority of force, compelled Wellington to withdraw. "It was an awful sight," says Southey, "to behold two great armies in an open and level country moving parallel lines, in full march, and apparently within half cannon-shot of each other, each waiting for a favourable moment in which the antagonist might be found at fault. The weather was at this time so sultry, that, on one occasion, when the French pressed upon our rear and were driven out of a village by the bayonet, some of our men fainted with heat.

"On the 21st July, the whole of the allied forces were assembled on the Tormes, the evening was overcast, and a thunder-storm began as the enemy took up their position ;—the whole sky was kindled by almost continuous lightnings, and in spite of heavy rain the enemy's fires were seen along the line. The two armies were now drawn up near Salamanca, on opposite rising grounds, the French having their left, and the allies their right, each upon one of the two remarkable rocky points called the Arapiles. Here the French general, who, confiding in his superior numbers, was determined to bring the allies to action, extended his left, in order to turn the right of their position, and interpose between them and Ciudad Rodrigo. Lord Wellington was at dinner when he was informed of this movement ; he saw at once the advantage which

had been given ; he rose in such haste as to overturn the table, exclaiming that ' Marmont's good genius had forsaken him,' and in an instant was on horseback issuing those orders which won the battle of Salamanca."\*

" When Wellington saw that the French left was in motion, and pointing towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road, he repaired to the high ground, and observed their movements for some time, with a stern contentment, for their left wing was entirely separated from their centre. The fault was flagrant, and he fixed on it with the stroke of a thunderbolt. A few orders issued from his lips like the incantations of a wizard, and suddenly the dark mass of troops which covered the English Arapiles, was seemingly possessed by some mighty spirit, and rushing violently down the interior slope of the mountain, entered the great basin amidst a storm of bullets which seemed to sheer away the whole surface of the earth over which the soldiers moved. The 5th division instantly formed on the right of the 4th, connecting the latter with Bradford's Portuguese, who hastened forward at the same time from the right of the army, and the heavy cavalry galloping up on the right of Bradford, closed this front of battle.

" The 6th and 7th divisions, flanked on the right by Anson's light cavalry, which now moved from the Arapiles, were ranged at half cannon-shot in a second line, which was prolonged by the Spaniards in the direction of the 3rd division, and this last reinforced by two squadrons of the 14th dragoons, and by D'Urban's Portuguese horsemen, formed the extreme right of the army. Behind all, on the highest ground, the 1st and light divisions, and

\* Quarterly Review, Vol. XIII.

Pack's Portuguese were disposed in heavy masses, as a reserve.

"When this grand disposition was completed, the 3rd division and its attendant horsemen, the whole formed in four columns and flanked on the left by 12 guns, received orders to cross the enemy's line of march. The remainder of the 1st line, including the main body of the cavalry was directed to advance whenever the attack of the 3rd division should be developed ; and as the 4th division must in this forward movement necessarily lend its flank to the enemy's troops stationed on the French Arapiles, Pack's brigade was commanded to assail that rock the moment the left of the British line should pass it. Thus, after long coiling and winding, the armies came together, and drawing up their huge trains like angry serpents mingled in deadly strife.

"Marmont, from the top of the French Arapiles, saw the country beneath him suddenly covered with enemies at a moment when he was in the act of making a complicated evolution, and when, by the rash advance of his left, his troops were separated into three parts, each at too great a distance to assist the other, and those nearest the enemy neither strong enough to hold their ground, nor aware of what they had to encounter. The 3rd division was, however, still hidden from him by the western heights, and he hoped the tempest of bullets under which the British line was moving in the basin beneath, would check it until he could bring up his reserve divisions, and, by the village of Arapiles, fall on what was now the left of the allies' position. But even this, his only resource for saving the battle, was weak, for on that point there were still the 1st and light divisions and Pack's brigade, forming a mass of 12,000 troops with 30 pieces of artillery ;

the village itself was well disputed, and the English Arapiles rock stood out as a strong bastion of defence. However, the French General, nothing daunted, despatched officer after officer, some to hasten up the troops from the forest, others to stop the progress of his left wing ; and with a sanguine expectation still looked for the victory, until he saw Pakenham with the 3rd division shoot like a meteor across Thomieres' path : then pride and hope alike died within him ; and desperately he was hurrying to that fatal spot, when an exploding shell stretched him on the earth, with a broken arm and two deep wounds in his side. Confusion ensued, and the troops distracted by ill-judged orders and counter-orders, knew not where to move, who to fight, or who to avoid.

"It was about five o'clock when Pakenham fell upon Thomieres ; and it was at the instant when that General, the head of whose column had gained an open isolated hill at the extremity of the southern range of heights, expected to see the allies, in full retreat towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road, closely followed by Marmont from the Arapiles. The counter-stroke was terrible ! Two batteries of artillery, placed on the summit of the western heights, suddenly took his troops in flank, and Pakenham's massive columns supported by cavalry, were coming on full in his front, while two-thirds of his own division, lengthened out and unconnected, were still behind in a wood where they could hear, but could not see the storm which was now bursting. From the chief to the lowest soldier, all felt that they were lost ; and in an instant Pakenham, the most frank and gallant of men, commenced the battle.

"The British columns formed lines as they

marched, and the French gunners standing up manfully for the honour of their country, sent showers of grape into the advancing masses, while a crowd of light troops poured in a fire of musketry, under cover of which the main body endeavoured to display a front. But bearing onwards through the skirmishers with the might of a giant, Pakenham broke the half-formed lines in fragments, and sent the whole in confusion upon the advancing supports : one only officer, with unyielding spirit, remained by the artillery ; standing alone, he fired the last gun at the distance of a few yards, but whether he lived or there died could not be seen for the smoke. Some squadrons of light cavalry fell on the right of the 3rd division, but the 5th regiment repulsed them, and D'Urban's Portuguese horsemen, reinforced by two squadrons of the 14th dragoons under Felton Harvey, gained the enemy's flank. The Oporto regiment, led by the English Major Watson, instantly charged the French infantry, yet vainly, Watson fell deeply wounded, and his men retired.

"Pakenham continued his tempestuous course against the remainder of Thomieres' troops, which were now arrayed on the wooded heights behind the first hill, yet imperfectly, and offering two fronts, the one opposed to the 3rd division and its attendant horsemen, the other to the 5th division, to Bradford's brigade, and the main body of cavalry and artillery, all of which were now moving in one great line across the basin. Meanwhile Bonnet's troops having failed at the village of Arapiles, were sharply engaged with the 4th division ; Maucune kept his menacing position behind the French Arapiles, and as Clauzel's division had come up from the forest, the connection of the

centre and left was in some measure restored : two divisions were however still in the rear, and Boyer's dragoons were in march from Calvariza Arriba. Thomieres had been killed, and Bonnet, who succeeded Marmont, had been disabled, hence more confusion ; but the command of the army devolved upon Clauzel, and he was of a capacity to sustain this terrible crisis.

" The 4th and 5th divisions, and Bradford's brigade, were now hotly engaged, and steadily gaining ground ; the heavy cavalry, Anson's light dragoons, and Bull's troop of artillery were advancing at a trot on Pakenham's left ; and on that General's right, D'Urban's horsemen overlapped the enemy. Thus in less than half an hour, and before an order of battle had been even formed by the French, their commander-in-chief, and two other generals had fallen ; and the left army was turned, thrown into confusion and enveloped. Clauzel's division had indeed joined Thomieres', and a front had been spread on the southern heights, but it was loose and unfit to resist ; for the troops were some in double lines, some in columns, some in squares ; a powerful sun shone full in their eyes, the light soil, stirred up by the trampling of men and horses, and driven forward by a breeze which arose in the west at the moment of attack, came full upon them mingled with smoke in such stifling clouds, that, scarcely able to breathe, and quite unable to see, their fire was given at random.

" In this situation, while Pakenham, bearing onward with a conquering violence, was closing on their flank, and the 5th division advancing with a storm of fire on their front, the interval between the two attacks was suddenly filled with a whirling cloud of dust, which moving swiftly forward, car-

ried within its womb the trampling sound of a charging multitude. As it passed the left of the 3rd division, Le Marchant's heavy horsemen, flanked by Anson's light cavalry, broke forth from it at full speed, and the next instant 1,200 French infantry, though formed in several lines, were trampled down with a terrible clamour and disturbance. Bewildered and blinded, they cast away their arms and ran through the openings of the British squadrons, stooping and demanding quarter, while the dragoons, big men and on big horses, rode onwards, smiting with their long glittering swords in uncontrollable power ; and the 3rd division followed at speed, shouting as the French masses fell in succession before the dreadful charge.

" Nor were these valiant swordsmen yet exhausted. Their own general, Le Marchant, and many officers had fallen, but Cotton and all his staff was at their head, and with ranks confused, and blended together in one mass, still galloping forward, they sustained from a fresh column, an irregular stream of fire, which emptied 100 saddles ; yet with fine courage, and downright force, the survivors broke through this, the third, and strongest body of men that had encountered them ; and Lord Edward Somerset, continuing his course at the head of one squadron, with a happy perseverance captured five guns. The French left was entirely broken, more than 2,000 prisoners were taken, the French light horsemen abandoned that part of the field, and, Thomieres' division no longer existed, as a military body. Anson's cavalry, which had passed quite over the hill, and had suffered little in the charge, was now joined by D'Urban's troopers, and took the place of Le Marchant's exhausted men ; the heavy German dragoons followed in reserve, and



with the 3rd and 5th divisions, and the guns, formed one formidable line, two miles in advance of where Pakenham had first attacked ; and that impetuous officer, with unmitigated strength, still pressed forward, spreading terror and disorder on the enemy's left.

" While these signal events, which occupied about forty minutes, were passing on the allies' right, a terrible battle raged in the centre. For when the first shock of the 3rd division had been observed from the Arapiles, the 4th division, moving in a line with the 5th, had passed the village of that name under a prodigious cannonade, and vigorously driving Bonnet's troops backwards, step by step to the southern and eastern heights, obliged them to mingle with Clauzel's and with Thomieres' broken remains. When the combatants had passed the French Arapiles, which was about the time of Le Marchant's charge, Pack's Portuguese assailed that rock, and the front of the battle was thus completely defined, because Foy's division was now exchanging a distant cannonade with the first and light divisions. However, Bonnet's troops, notwithstanding Marmont's fall, and the loss of their own general, fought strongly, and Clauzel made a surprising effort, beyond all men's expectations, to restore the battle. Already a great change was visible. Ferey's division, drawn off from the height of Calvaraza Ariba, arrived in the centre behind Bonnet's men ; the light cavalry, Boyer's dragoons, and two divisions of infantry, from the forest, were also united there, and on this mass of fresh men, Clauzel rallied the remnants of his own and Thomieres' division. Thus, by an able movement, Sarrut's, Brennier's, and Ferey's unbroken troops, supported by the whole of the cavalry, were so disposed as to

cover the line of retreat to Alba de Tormes, while Maucune's division was still in mass behind the French Arapiles, and Foy's remained untouched on the right.

"But Clausel, not content with having brought the separated part of his army together, and in a condition to effect a retreat, attempted to stem the tide of victory in the very fulness of its strength and roughness. His hopes were founded on a misfortune which had befallen General Pack ; for that officer, ascending the French Arapiles in one heavy column, had driven back the enemy's skirmishers, and was within three yards of the summit, believing himself victorious, when suddenly the French reserves, leaped forward from the rocks upon his front, and upon his left flank. The hostile masses closed, there was a thick cloud of smoke, a shout, a stream of fire, and the side of the hill was covered to the very bottom, with the dead, the wounded, and flying Portuguese, who were scoffed at for this failure, without any justice ; no troops could have withstood that crash upon such steep ground, and the propriety of attacking the hill at all seems very questionable. The result went nigh to shake the whole battle ; for the 4th division had just reached the southern ridge of the basin, and one of the regiments arrayed in the service, was actually on the summit, when 1,200 fresh adversaries, arrayed on the reverse slope, charged up the hill ; and as the British fire was straggling and ineffectual, because the soldiers were breathless and disordered by the previous fighting, the French who came up resolutely and without firing, won the crest. They were even pursuing down the other side, when two regiments placed in line below, checked them with a destructive volley.

"This vigorous counter-blow took place at the moment when Pack's defeat permitted Maucune, who was no longer in pain for the Arapiles' hill, to menace the left flank and rear of the 4th division ; but the left wing of the 40th regiment immediately wheeled about, and with a rough charge cleared the rear. Maucune would not engage himself more deeply at that time, but General Ferey's troops pressed vigorously against the front of the 4th division, and Brennier did the same by the first line of the 5th division ; Boyer's dragoons also came on rapidly, and the allies, being out-flanked and over-matched, lost ground. Fiercely and fast the French followed, and the fight once more raged in the basin below. General Cole had before this fallen deeply wounded, and Leith had the same fortune ; but Beresford promptly drew Spry's Portuguese brigade from the second line of the 5th division, and thus flanked the advancing columns of the enemy ; yet he also fell desperately wounded, and Boyer's dragoons then came freely into action, because Anson's cavalry had been checked after Le Marchant's charge, by a heavy fire of artillery.

"The crisis of the battle had now arrived, and the victory was for the General who had the strongest reserves in hand. Wellington, who was seen that day at every point of the field exactly when his presence was most required, immediately brought up from the second line the 6th division, and its charge was rough, strong, and successful. Nevertheless the struggle was no slight one. The men of General Hulse's brigade, which was on the left, went down by hundreds ; and the 61st and 11th regiments won their way desperately and through such a fire as British soldiers only can

sustain. Some of Boyer's dragoons also breaking in between the 5th and 6th divisions, slew many men, and caused some disorder in the 53rd ; but that brave regiment lost no ground, nor did Clauzel's impetuous counter-attack avail at any point, after the first burst, against the steady courage of the allies. The southern ridge was regained, the French General Menne was severely, General Ferey, mortally wounded. Clauzel himself was hurt, and the reserve of Boyer's dragoons coming on at a canter, were met and broken by the fire of Hulse's noble brigade. Then the changing current of the fight once more set for the British. The 3rd division continued to outflank the enemy's left ; Maucune abandoned the French Arapiles ; Foy retired from the ridge of Calvariza, and the allied host righting itself as a gallant ship after a sudden gust, again bore onwards in blood and gloom, for though the air, purified by the storm the night before, was peculiarly clear, one vast cloud of smoke and dust rolled along the basin, and within it was the battle with all its sights and sounds of terror.

" When the English General had thus restored the fight in the centre, he directed the commander of the 1st division to push between Foy and the rest of the French army, which would have rendered it impossible for the latter to rally or escape ; but this order was not executed, and Foy's and Maucune's divisions were skilfully used by Clauzel to protect the retreat. The first posted on undulating ground, and flanked by some squadrons of dragoons, covered the roads to the fords of Huerta and Encina, the second, reinforced with 15 guns, was placed on a steep ridge in front of the forest, covering the road to Alba de Tormes ; and behind this ridge the rest of the army, then falling back

in disorder before the 3rd, 5th, and 6th divisions, took refuge. Wellington immediately sent the light division, formed in two lines and flanked by some squadrons of dragoons, against Foy ; and he supported them by the 1st division in columns, flanked on the right by two brigades of the 4th division, which he had drawn off from the centre when the 6th division restored the fight. The 7th division and the Spaniards followed in reserve ; the country was covered with troops, and a new army seemed to have risen out of the earth.

“ Foy, throwing out a cloud of skirmishers, retired slowly by wings, turning and firing heavily from every rising ground upon the light divisions, which marched forward steadily without returning a shot, save by its skirmishers ; for three miles the march was under this musketry, which was occasionally thickened by a cannonade, and yet very few men were lost, because the French aim was baffled, partly by the twilight, partly by the even order and rapid gliding of the lines. But the French General Desgraviere was killed, and the flanking brigades from the 4th division having now penetrated between Maucune and Foy, it seemed difficult for the latter to extricate his troops from the action : nevertheless he did it with great dexterity. For, having increased his skirmishers on the last defensible ridge, along the foot of which ran a marshy stream, he redoubled his fire of musketry, and made a menacing demonstration with his horsemen just as the darkness fell ; the British guns immediately opened their fire, a squadron of dragoons galloped forwards from the left, the infantry, crossing the marshy stream, with an impetuous pace hastened to the summit of the hill, and a rough shock seemed at hand, but there was no

longer an enemy ; the main body of the French had gone into the thick forest on their own left during the firing, and the skirmishers fled swiftly after, covered by the smoke and by the darkness.

“ Meanwhile Maucune maintained a noble battle. He was outflanked and outnumbered, but the safety of the French army depended on his courage ; he knew it, and Pakenham, marking his bold demeanour, advised Clinton, who was immediately in his front, not to assail him until the 3rd division should have turned his left. Nevertheless the 6th division was soon plunged afresh into action under great disadvantage, for after being kept by its commander a long time without reason, close under Maucune’s batteries, which ploughed heavily through the ranks, it was suddenly directed by a staff officer to attack the hill. Assisted by a brigade of the 4th division, the troops then rushed up, and in the darkness of the night the fire shewing how the battle went. On the side of the British a sheet of flame was seen, sometimes advancing with an even front, sometimes pricking forth in spear heads, now falling back in waving lines, and anon darting upwards in one vast pyramid, the apex of which often approached, yet never gained the actual summit of the mountain ; but the French musketry, rapid as lightning, sparkled along the brow of the height with unvarying fulness, and with what destructive effects the dark gaps and changing shapes of the adverse fire showed too plainly. Yet when Pakenham had again turned the enemy’s left, and Foy’s division had glided into the forest, Maucune’s task was completed ; the effulgent crest of the ridge became black and silent, and the whole French army vanished as it were in the darkness.

“ Meanwhile Wellington, who was with the leading regiment of the light division, continued to advance towards the ford of Huerta, leaving the forest to his right, for he thought the Spanish garrison was still in the castle of Alba de Tormes, and that the enemy must of necessity be found in a confused mass at the fords. It was for this final stroke that he had so skilfully strengthened his left wing, nor was he diverted from his aim by marching through standing corn where no enemy could have preceded him ; nor by Foy’s retreat into the forest, because it pointed towards the fords of Encina and Gonzalo, which that General might be endeavouring to gain, and the right wing of the allies would find him there. A squadron of French dragoons also burst hastily from the forest in front of the advancing troops, soon after dark, and firing their pistols, passed at full gallop towards the ford of Huerta, thus indicating great confusion in the defeated army, and confirming the notion that its retreat was in that direction. Had the castle of Alba been held, the French could not have carried off a third of their army, nor would they have been in much better plight if Carlos D’Espana, who soon discovered his error in withdrawing the garrison, had informed Wellington of that fact ; but he suppressed it and suffered the Colonel, who had only obeyed his orders, to be censured ; the left wing thereof continued their march to the ford without meeting any enemy, and, the night being far spent, were there halted ; the right wing, exhausted by long fighting, had ceased to pursue after the action with Maucune, and thus the French gained Alba unmolested : but the action did not terminate without two remarkable accidents. While riding close behind the 43rd regiment, Wellington was struck in the thigh by a

spent musket-ball, which passed through his holster, and the night picquets had just been set at Huerta, when Sir Stapleton Cotton, who had gone to the ford and returned a different road, was shot through the arm by a Portuguese sentinel whose challenge he had disregarded. These were the last events of this famous battle, in which the skill of the General was worthily seconded by troops whose ardour may be appreciated by the following anecdotes.

"Capt. Brotherton, of the 14th dragoons, fighting upon the 18th at the Guarena amongst the foremost, as he was always wont to do, had a sword thrust quite through his side, yet on the 22nd he was again on horseback, and being denied leave to remain in that condition with his own regiment, secretly joined Pack's Portuguese in an undress, and was again hurt in the unfortunate charge at the Arapiles. Such were the officers. A man of the 43rd, one by no means distinguished above his comrades, was shot through the middle of the thigh, and lost his shoes in passing the marshy stream ; but refusing to quit the fight, he limped under fire in the rear of his regiment, and with naked feet, and streaming with blood from his wound, he marched for several miles over a country covered with sharp stones. Such were the soldiers."\*

The immediate results of this splendid victory were the capture of eleven pieces of artillery, two eagles, and 7,000 prisoners. Three French Generals were killed ; four severely wounded, among whom was Marmont himself ; the total loss of the French was estimated at 14,000. On the side of the allies, 5,200 were killed and wounded, including six general officers, of whom one was killed.

Favoured by the night, the enemy continued their

\* Napier's Peninsular War.



retreat, and next morning the allies pressed on in pursuit. The retiring army would have sustained much greater loss, had not the Spaniards by abandoning the castle of Alba de Tormes, suffered them to cross the river at that point without delay or resistance. The cavalry, however, came up with their rear-guard in the morning, and General Rock, with a brigade of German heavy dragoons, charged three squares of infantry, broke them, and took 900 prisoners. The French were still strong in cavalry, a numerous reinforcement of which, and also of horse artillery, they had received two days after the battle. Thus covered, and getting on as fast as possible by forced marches, they reached Valladolid without farther loss ; and as Wellington approached that place, they retired upon Burgos. On the 31st July, the allies crossed the Douro ; and on the 6th August, made a movement against the army of the centre ; a part of the force which had suffered most in the battle being left to observe the line of the Douro, while the main body advanced to the capital by Segovia and St. Ildefonso. King Joseph had already retired thither. Wellington entered Ildefonso on the 9th ; during the next two days his troops crossed the mountains and descended into New Castile. On the 11th a cavalry skirmish took place, in which the Portuguesé horse suffered, but the advance of the Germans at once checked the French. On the night of the 11th, Joseph with Marshal Jourdan hurried from Madrid, marched his troops on Aranjuez, and crossed the Tagus, anxious to leave it as a barrier between him and the British. On the 16th he continued his retreat to Valencia.

On the 12th of August—a memorable epoch—the allied army and its illustrious chief entered Ma-

drid. Their entrance excited in the inhabitants sentiments of the greatest joy and enthusiasm, which found utterance in shouts of admiration and gratitude. All business was suspended ; thousands of people, bearing laurel-branches, welcomed them at the gates. The same day, the Retiro, which was garrisoned by the French, surrendered ; the spoil found amounted to 180 pieces of ordnance, 20,000 stand of arms, and military stores of every kind. On the 13th, Don Carlos de Espana was appointed governor of Madrid, and the new constitution was proclaimed amidst the loud vivas of the exulting crowd. The whole population was in the streets ; joy beamed on every countenance, and delight trembled on every lip ; laurels and flowers decorated every place ; tapestry hung from the balconies : but Wellington was the "observed of all observers," the especial object of their praise and honour ; wherever he appeared, loud cries rent the air of "Long live the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo !" — "Long live Wellington !" Green boughs, flowers, and shawls, were flung before his horse's feet ; they crowded around him, hung upon his stirrups, touched his clothes, or throwing themselves upon the ground, blessed him aloud as the friend of Spain. His triumph was indeed a pure, glorious, and noble one.

We must not omit to relate, that when, on the 22nd of August, the new council waited upon Lord Wellington with all state ceremonial, to offer him a congratulatory address as Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, couched in fit terms towards a great conqueror, whose victories had subverted the cause of justice and freedom, Wellington replied with that simple dignity, and unaffected modesty so conspicuous in his character ; all that he said in reply to their

long and highly-wrought enumeration and praise of his successes, was simply, "The events of war are in the hands of Providence ;" feelings such as these, so remote from the elation and intoxication of triumph, were the sure prelude of future and still more glorious exploits.

But the war was very far yet from being near a termination, and Lord Wellington's objects in advancing to Madrid were only partially gained ; the supports upon which he had calculated did not reach him, and Suchet had dispersed his men in Catalonia and Valencia before the troops from Sicily could arrive at the eastern coast of Spain ; and they remained shut up in Alicante. Yet the victory of Salamanca freed Andalusia from Soult, who, upon the fall of Madrid, raised the blockade of Cadiz, and when he found Seville occupied, betook himself to Granada.

Besides the failure of his expected supports, a concurrence of circumstances compelled Wellington to quit Madrid. No really active and hearty co-operations were made against the enemy, nor any efforts used to organize a regular system. His military chest was empty, and a few thousand dollars were all that could be raised, though the English general made the utmost efforts. The main weight of the war rested upon the British, while, independently of the corps of Soult in Granada, almost 100,000 troops might be brought to bear against them. With these large forces, the French were menacing the capital, and Clauzel, with Marmont's army had again advanced to the Douro, after driving back the Spanish troops in Galicia. To preserve his communications, and to open others with the north of Spain, whereby to receive such reinforcements and stores as could be sent from

England, it was necessary that active steps should be taken by Lord Wellington. He therefore left Madrid on the 1st of September, leaving behind him his two weakest divisions, and directing Sir Rowland Hill to cover Madrid from the side of the Jarana. Wellington with four divisions crossed the Douro on the 6th, driving before him the French from Valladolid, and pursuing them beyond Valencia; where he was joined by a Spanish army in great disorder, but numbering about 12,000 men. The French continued to retire before him. On the 17th, Clauzel appeared near Burgos with 22,000 troops; but he retired immediately, and was next day reinforced by Souhain with 9,000 men. Two days afterwards the army entered Burgos; 12,000 of the allies invested the castle in which was 2,000 French; the remainder advanced to cover the siege, and the head-quarters were fixed at Villatoro.

Burgos castle is upon an eminence, and has strong outworks; the acclivity had been defended by two lines of formidable field-works, bristling at all points with cannon, and the base of the hill was also encircled by an uncovered scarp-wall, of very difficult access. The reduction of this place was of great importance, for it contained a large store of ammunition and provisions, and it was required as a point of support for the army, to enable the proposed operations to be conducted satisfactorily. The castle was immediately ordered to be invested, though our troops had only three 18-pounders, with five 24-pound iron howitzers, and a very scanty supply of ammunition. The 5th and 6th divisions were the besiegers.

On the 19th, a formidable horn-work on the hill of St. Michael was carried after an hour's hard contest, and a very severe loss, in consequence of

the brave resistance of the garrison, and the hot fire kept up from the castle ; three guns, and a captain with 62 men, the sole survivors of a strong battalion, were taken. Next day the guns were dismounted. On the 22nd at night, a brave attempt made to escalate the exterior line of works, unfortunately failed ; Lord Wellington resolved to have recourse to the slower process of sapping.

A breach having been effected on the 29th, by the explosion of a mine in the outer wall, a party of the 1st division advanced to storm it ; but the enemy had placed such obstacles at the mouth, that after considerable loss, the attack was unsuccessful. On the 4th of October, another mine exploded, and made a breach. The exterior line was carried, and the 24th regiment rushed up, and effected a lodgment between the outer wall, and the first line of field-works. The garrison, however, having made a sortie, drove back the English, regained the lodgment and destroyed it. Our men being reinforced, under a most destructive fire again took the works, and drove back the French to their interior defences. Still the besiegers made slow progress, for obstacles which their limited means prevented them from surmounting, presented themselves at every step. On the 8th, the enemy made another sortie, and destroyed all the works of the besiegers within the outer wall ; still the labour was continued, and an establishment was formed within 100 yards of the second line. On the 18th, preparations were completed for an assault. The Guards and German Legion attempted an escalade, and effected an entrance ; but so heavy a fire was kept up by the garrison, that, after a severe loss, they were compelled to retire.

No more efforts were made to gain this fortress,

the advance of the enemy rendering any farther operations impracticable. The siege had lasted almost a month during which the besiegers had lost more than 2000 men ; its failure arose merely from want of the necessary means of attack, and not from any deficiency of ardour or perseverance on the part of the troops, who, with an adequate engineer force and a proper supply of artillery, would not have spent a third of the time, before they had taken the place. But its capture was of such importance as to justify the attempt even with such inadequate means, and the firmness and perseverance of Wellington, though in this case unsuccessful, were called into action for a worthy object. During the whole siege, the vigilance and active superintendence of the Commander were unremitting ; the arrangements for each attack were written out by himself as he sat on the ground watching the movements. He was so often within fire, that it was wonderful that he escaped injury. As he closely observed the assault on the night of the 29th of September, he was in imminent danger, for a field which he crossed was literally ploughed up by the grape and musketry.

On the 18th, most of the besieging corps joined the covering army, and two days after the General and his staff moved to the front. The siege was finally raised on the 21st, a measure rendered absolutely indispensable by the combined movements of the armies of the south and the centre, under Soult and the intruding sovereign. On the British front was an army reinforced, and possessing such a large proportion of cavalry as greatly to out-number that of the allies : the retreat had to be made in the presence of this superior army, along muddy roads, with the castle of Burgos commanding them, and the

bridges on the Arlanzon. Yet in one night, by Lord Wellington's skilful arrangements, the army, with all its baggage and stores reached the other side of Burgos ; and in such an orderly manner were the movements conducted, that the 1st division filed over two bridges within musket-shot of the fort, without losing a single man, though it was bright moonlight. Afterwards indeed the artillery fired on the bridge but very few accidents happened. A march was thus gained on the enemy. Next day a cavalry skirmish took place. Orders were given to destroy the bridges so as to retard the French, which for the most part was effected. Sir Rowland Hill fell back and joined Lord Wellington on the retreat, and the French armies amounting to 80,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, formed their junction in pursuit, upon the Tormes ; while the allies had not more than 50,000 men, of which 9,000 were cavalry. In these circumstances, though a victory had been gained, the results could not have been such as to counterbalance the risk and certain loss ; the retreat was therefore continued to Ciudad Rodrigo, and so far as regards active operations, the campaign of 1812 was closed.

During the whole of this retreat, though the enemy caused little trouble, still our troops suffered much ; for the weather was boisterous and cold, no shelter was procurable at night, and the torrents of rain prevented fires from being lighted. Provisions were irregularly issued, in consequence of the wretched and in many cases impassable state of the roads, and in spite of all the efforts of the officers, the bounds of discipline were much relaxed ; for argument, exhortation, and even threatening have little weight with soldiers who are almost starving. To them the droves of swine in the

extensive woods passed through by the army, were but too tempting ; and many quitting the lines at nightfall, hunted, and shot them for food. No sooner had the army reached quarters, than Lord Wellington addressed a letter to the commanders of battalions, censuring strongly the misconduct of many of the men.

In England the news of the retreat from Burgos caused great disappointment and discontent—the brilliant opening of the campaign had raised such high hopes, that this unlooked for reverse was felt more keenly. Within and without Parliament loud accusations arose against the Ministry, who had unquestionably been too tardy in furnishing supplies and reinforcements, which, when they did come, were neither sufficiently large or efficient, and had thereby afforded opportunity to their enemies to say, that the blood and resources of England had been lavished in a hopeless struggle—and the Spaniards were satisfied that the contest was vain, and were content meekly to bow their necks beneath the feet of their insolent oppressors—and that it was needless to oppose longer the power of Napoleon. A shade even seemed in the eyes of many to have passed over the renown of that illustrious chief who had so often led the army of Britain to victory ; for a time he was not “gracious in the people’s eye.” Yet though it was mortifying to have been compelled to retire from Madrid, the great objects for which he advanced to the capital had been attained ; the only two fortresses which enabled the enemy to menace Portugal had been captured—a number of French troops equal in amount to that of the allies, destroyed—and the whole south of Spain freed, and that too at a time when the Spanish military power had been at the lowest ebb. Besides the pursuit of



an enemy overpoweringly superior had been totally baffled, even when the French had 200,000 men in the field, headed by veteran leaders, with whose feats of arms "all Europe had rang." Whatever factious clamour might be raised, Wellington was not the man to be awed by it, nor induced for a moment to quit the plans which with calm self-possession, perspicuity, and far-sightedness he had laid down.

Temporary and vulgar popularity he then—as ever since—set aside, and he secured the reward in receiving the lasting gratitude of his country. The time was close at hand, when he who had already done so much with means so inadequate, who without co-operation and support, had taught the French so many repulsive lessons, and had loosened the chains of Spain, and shaken to its base the throne of the intrusive King, was to drive the last Frenchman from the country, and from the lofty ridges of the Pyrenees crested by his army, to descend upon that territory, which its people had so vainly called "the sacred soil of France."

The unsuccessful issue of the attempt upon Burgos did not surprise Wellington; for an important end he had justifiably besieged it, with small means; and when the extensive combinations of the French Marshals rendered it necessary that he should retire, the skill of his movements, the firm face he shewed to the enemy, the shortness of his marches and his frequent halts, demonstrated the great master of the military art; as (what observers remarked) the placidity and composure of his countenance manifested the due confidence and variety of resources which denote a great mind. So far as regarded the commanders, no retreat had ever been more skilfully made. "None," says Lord Wellington himself, "was ever known in which the troops

made such short marches, none in which they made such long and repeated halts ; none in which the retreating armies were so little pressed on their rear by the enemy. The army met with no disaster, it suffered no privation but such as might have been prevented by due care on the part of the officers, and no hardships but what unavoidably arose from the inclemency of the weather." "For my part," said the Marquis of Wellesley, speaking with a due and becoming pride of his brother's merits and services, "were I called upon to give my impartial testimony of the merits of your great general, I confess before Heaven, I would not select his victories, brilliant as they are :—I would go to the moments when difficulties pressed on him ;—when he had but the choice of extremities—when he was overhung by superior strength ! It is to his retreats that I would go for the proudest and most undoubted evidence of his ability !" To this we may here add upon Colonel Napier's cool, and with respect to Wellington, impartial testimony, that during, not only this campaign, but the whole war, "no adequate notion of Lord Wellington's vigorous capacity and herculean labours can be formed, without an intimate knowledge of the financial and political difficulties which oppressed him."

At this period, honours and rewards, so justly his due, were decreed to Lord Wellington by his grateful country. The restrictions on the Regency had now expired, and the first use the Prince made of his new power was to create him a Marquis of the United Kingdom, to which was added the Parliamentary grant of £100,000, to purchase lands, and enable him to support the dignity of the Peerage. The Prince of Brazil conferred on him the additional title of Duke of Vittoria. We must also

here notice, that from the beginning of the Peninsular war, Lord Wellington had uniformly refused to accept the emoluments attached to the dignities conferred on him by the Spanish and Portuguese governments, though these amounted to upwards of 17,000 dollars a year. The value of this honourable sacrifice, and disinterestedness, will be better understood when we mention that his pay as commander of the forces did not defray his expenses, while he had a family to maintain in England ; till the Parliament voted him the income and the grant to support his titles, he was really the poorer for having served. Nor must we omit to mention that he spent a great deal of money in charity ; and that during the invasion of Portugal in 1810, he contributed most liberally from his private resources to the relief of distress and misery. It is therefore satisfactory to find that in January, 1813, his income was materially enlarged by the appointment of Colonel of the Blues, or Royal Horse Guards ; which, like all his other honours and emoluments, was unsolicited, and afforded him peculiar pleasure. " So far," says one of his biographers, " was he from making a high and vain estimate of his services and claims, that, when he announced his appointment at his own table, he exclaimed with the liveliest joy, " I am the luckiest fellow in the world, I must have been born under some extraordinary planet."

During the winter, some reinforcements arrived from England, particularly cavalry, of which there was great want. At this time, with providence and forethought, Wellington bent his attention to the better equipment and organization of his army. He caused the large iron camp kettles to be disused, and the mules employed in their carriage to

be appointed to the conveyance of three tents for a company ; so that the men off duty had provided for them a cover in the field ; speed and comfort also were gained in preparing the food, by issuing to the men small tin kettles, one to each six, which could be carried in turn on the top of a knapsack, and dividing the companies into small messes ; alterations which conduced much to the health and comfort, and consequent efficiency of the troops. A pontoon train was likewise prepared to accompany the army on its line of march the following campaign. We mention these things as illustrating the constant attention paid by Wellington to the interests and efficiency of his soldiers.

To facilitate necessary arrangements, Marquis Wellington went to Cadiz to communicate in person with the Spanish government. Here he was received in a becoming manner. In the first instance, he was waited upon by a deputation from the Cortes ; and when he afterwards entered their hall in the Spanish uniform, they greeted him with loud acclamations ; and shewed the greatest joy and satisfaction when he replied to their address in their own language. His visit appeared to succeed in promoting that good understanding and cordial union between himself and the Spanish executive, which were of so much consequence to the common cause ; and they promised him the co-operation of 50,000 Spanish soldiers. He returned to the army by Lisbon, where he had also a most distinguished reception ; as he rode along the streets, the greatest enthusiasm was manifested. The city was illuminated for three nights. He was received with every possible mark of respect by the Lords and Regent of the Kingdom, in the palace of government, where an entertainment was given him. He

appeared in the great theatre of San Carlos, crowded to the roof with spectators, and the applause and shouts were almost unbounded.

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## CHAPTER XII.

Napoleon's declining power—Movements of the Allies—  
 Passages of the Carrion and the Ebro—Battle of Vittoria  
 —Its results—Siege of St. Sebastian—Soul's endeavours  
 to relieve Pampeluna—Operations among the Pyrenees  
 —Storming of St. Sebastian—Operations on the Frontier.

UPON reflection, it will appear probable, that even though Napoleon, at peace with the other nations of Europe, had been able to bend his whole attention to the subjugation of the Peninsula, he would not eventually have succeeded in his object. The resources of the seat of war were so exhausted as not to furnish subsistence either for the invading, or the defending army. The provinces were no longer tilled by the agriculturalists, when the fruit of his labours was wrested from him by armed men ; the cattle had been driven away up the mountains, the great mass of the population had seized the musket and the knife, to wage a war of extermination against the invader.

It was absolutely necessary for the security of the French, to employ numerous armies, to keep up a strong unbroken line of communication throughout the country and Bayonne ; so long as they could do this, the British army did not seem to have made much progress towards the liberation of Spain. But their diffusion of force was pregnant with in-

jury to the French—of course the wider they extended their line, it was proportionably weakened. They could not be present at all points in sufficient force to put down resistance ; no sooner was the insurrection crushed in one district, than it burst forth in another. To procure sustenance also, they were compelled to diminish their forces, and narrow their schemes of conquest. The British, however,—no doubt at great trouble and cost—by having Lisbon and Oporto open, could procure supplies. Wellington, therefore, saw that if the contest was prolonged, the time would come when he should meet his opponent on more equal terms, conduct his manœuvres on a larger scale, and enter upon a course of more brilliant and extended operations. That period came at last. The recent events in Europe, the wreck of Napoleon's army in the Russian retreat—had shaken his empire ; and the hour of Spanish deliverance was nigh. For the main obstacle against which the British had struggled so nobly was the constant influx of reinforcements, which made up to the French for the loss of each successive defeat—like the fabulous Hydra,—no sooner was one head cut off than another grew. One disastrous defeat sustained by Wellington might not have been remedied by the whole available resources of England ; while fresh supplies of what the unfeeling Corsican called "food for cannon," could be poured by thousands into Spain. But these supplies were now closed up, and so far from being able to send reinforcements, Napoleon's necessities compelled him to withdraw 20,000 of the troops already in Spain. The vengeance he had so richly merited, overtook him amidst the flames of Moscow ; and leaving the relics of his gallant army to fall among the snows, with only a single attenti-

dant, he fled in a sledge from the scene of horror. Prussia seized the opportunity to throw off his yoke ; all the strength he could collect was needed for the struggle in Germany.

But though Soult had been recalled to Germany, there were still above 150,000 French troops in Spain ; and though a great number of these were dispersed in garrisons, and throughout Catalonia and Valencia, a force of 70,000 was ready to take the field against the allied army in the spring of 1813. Marshal Jourdan commanded it ; and King Joseph, who did not judge it safe to remain in his capital, accompanied him. The head-quarters were at Valladolid. Towards the end of May, Marquis Wellington, who had received large reinforcements and supplies from England, including several regiments of cavalry, took the field at the head of the allied army of 80,000 men ; but of these the Spaniards were still in a state of the most wretched equipment and discipline. " The position of the allies," says an able military writer, " thus formed an extensive semicircle around that of the enemy, and the latter perhaps conceived that by the rapid movements of their concentrated forces, they would be enabled for a time at least, to baffle the manoeuvres of an enemy acting on a line so extended. It was evident, however, from the preparatory arrangements of the French during the past winter, that their views were chiefly directed to the defence of the Douro. The ground on the northern bank of that river, naturally strong, had been fortified at every assailable point by works and intrenchments ; and with such advantages of situation, with a deep and rapid river covering their front, little doubt was entertained that an insuperable

barrier would be opposed to the progress of the allied army."\*

Wellington's troops proceeded in three divisions: one under Sir Thomas Graham crossed the Douro with orders to move through Tras os Montes, on Braganza and Zamara, so as to join the rest at Valladolid; the second under Wellington in person, moved on Salamanca by the direct route; and Sir Rowland Hill on the right, with the force from Estramadura was to advance on the same point by Alba de Tormes. This was a masterly plan, for thus the enemy's position on the Douro was turned, as well as that of their whole forces on the south of the river. With such rapidity were the movements of the centre and right executed, that the French commander at Salamanca had scarcely time to quit the town, before General Fane with the British cavalry entered it, pursued the rear-guard, and took 200 prisoners and some guns. The right and centre were then placed by Wellington in cantonments between the Tormes and the Douro, and passing the river on the 31st of May, joined Sir Thomas Graham's force.

This part of the army had encountered great difficulties from the character of the country through which their route lay. It was wild and mountainous; the roads were steep and narrow, intersected by rivers and ravines; and the ascents from some were so steep, that without drag-ropes and strong fatigue parties the guns could not be drawn up. But by great exertions all these obstacles were overcome, and Graham having reached the frontier on the appointed day, established a communication with the army of Galicia. No sooner did Graham's force appear than the French

\* *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns.*



retired from the banks of the Esla, which Graham passed on the 31st May by a pontoon bridge, and advanced towards Zamara. Thus the formidable line of the Douro was turned, and the defensive works of the enemy rendered useless, so that they were forced to retire upon Morales, where their vanguard of cavalry was overthrown. After restoring the bridge of Toro, Hill's corps crossed the river, and the whole allied army united on the right bank of the Douro on the 3rd June. The enemy were completely astonished by these rapid and brilliant movements of Wellington, who had advanced upon them by a course they deemed impracticable, and which they had not the slightest suspicion of his attempting: they judged it impossible that he should come upon them by passing the Douro within the frontier of Portugal, after making a flanked march through *Tras os Montes*. In these circumstances Madrid was hastily abandoned by the army there, which made haste to join what was called that of Portugal.

On the 4th of June, the French were compelled to desert Valladolid, and retire behind the Carrión. On the 7th the allies crossed that river at Valencia, and the enemy withdrew to the Stormaza. Lord Wellington still manœuvred to the left; crossed the Pisuerga, and menacing the French line of communications, compelled them to retire to Burgos, where they mustered their forces. During the whole of this retreat, our cavalry, acting advantageously in a flat country, checked the movements of the French so well as to prevent them making a single reconnoissance to discover the number, route, or intention of the British. Burgos, which had made such a formidable defence the preceding year, was blown up in such

haste that many of the French were killed by the premature explosion: and while the enemy were thus occupied on their main-front, Wellington sent three or four divisions across the Ebro, before they could take advantage of the strong positions which it afforded.

These brilliant successes—equivalent in value to the results of two or three pitched battles,—were gained with scarcely the loss of a single life. The passage of the Ebro was next attained; to defend this, the enemy had garrisoned the strong fortress of Pancoro; and the attempt here to cross so great a river, in the face of the combined forces of the enemy, must have led to an engagement under very disadvantageous circumstances. Wellington therefore, instead of pursuing them by the main road, had recourse to the manœuvre which was so successful on the Douro; he moved the army to its left by the road to St. Andero—hitherto deemed impracticable for carriages,—and crossed the Ebro near its source; by this route, as in *Tras os Montes*, it was only by very great exertions that the march was accomplished. On the 16th Lord Wellington's army moved to the right through a strong country, unopposed; and on the 18th the light division came suddenly upon two French brigades on their march to *Vittoria*; these were instantly attacked, and defeated with the loss of 300 men. The same evening the first news of the British advance upon their flank reached King Joseph's head-quarters: the French staff were thrown into a state of great perturbation and astonishment, and the troops hurriedly retreated in great confusion to their rear. At *Osma* a large-body of the enemy attacked Graham's corps; though superior in numbers, they suffered a severe

repulse, and were pursued to Espejo. On the 19th Wellington attacked their rear-guard posted behind the river Bayas, and drove them upon the main body of their army. The same day Joseph arranged his troops for battle at Vittoria. During the 20th Wellington closed up his rear, collected his divisions, and reconnoitred the enemy's position.

The French occupied a line which extended nearly eight miles, the ground was unequal, and afforded them considerable advantages; at the time of the battle it was covered with ripening corn, which concealed the light troops, and even the movements of whole battalions during the engagement. "The extreme left of the French rested on the lofty heights of the La Puebla; their right was posted upon high ground above the villages Abechuco and Gamarra Mayor; their centre covered a range of strong hills on the left bank of the Zadorra, and commanded the valley through which it flows, towards the south in front of Vittoria. Part of their left wing was drawn up, touching the left centre, on steep and commanding ranges above the village of Subijana de Alva. A strong reserve was posted in rear of the centre at Gomecha. Their light troops lined the banks of the Zadorra in front of the centre, and the bridges over that river were fortified. A woody space between the centre and right, was likewise occupied by light infantry; and some field works had been thrown up in front of Abechuco and Gamarra Mayor. Thus posted, the enemy covered the city of Vittoria, and held the three great roads which, from Logrono, Madrid, and Bilboa, unite in that city, and thence pursue one line to Bayonne."\* The French had nearly 70,000 combatants, and 100 pieces of cannon, ar-

\* Sherer's Military Memoirs.

ranged in battle order. The allies out-numbered them by about 4,000 men, but in this number are included three divisions of Spaniards.

A clear and cloudless sun rose on the field of battle. The allies stood to their arms and marched in full confidence of victory from their bivouacs on the Bayas. Lord Wellington arranged his army in three divisions: the right under Sir Rowland Hill, including Stewart's, a Portuguese, and a Spanish division; the left under Sir Thomas Graham, with the first and Oswald's divisions, two brigades of cavalry, and a Spanish division; and the centre, under Wellington in person, included four divisions of Sir Lundy Cole, Baron Alten, Lord Dalhousie, and Sir Thomas Picton, formed in two columns. So strong was the enemy's centre, and so well was it defended by their enormous force of artillery, that the attempt to pierce it, would have caused very severe loss; though the great extent of the line would with a less formidable post for the centre, have favoured such an attack. It was therefore necessary to force back their flanks, and delay any assault upon the centre till the right or left corps of the allied army should have passed the Zadorra, and be so well advanced as to give a powerful support in flank to a front attack. Wellington perceived that the position, though otherwise well chosen, was liable to be taken in flank, for at a glance he saw its weakness.

"The Spaniards under Morillo began the action, and attacked the heights with great gallantry: their leader was wounded, but remained on the field; the enemy stood firm, and made great efforts to retain their ground, perceiving when too late, that they had neglected to occupy it in sufficient strength.

"Strong reinforcements were sent from their centre to its support, so that Sir Rowland Hill found it necessary to detach thither, first, the 71st regiment, and the light infantry battalions of Major General Walker's brigade, and successively other troops ; the contest was very severe, and the loss considerable. Here the Hon. Lieutenant Colonel Cadogan was mortally wounded ; an officer in Lord Wellington's words, 'of great zeal and tried gallantry, who had acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession, and of whom it might have been expected, that if he had lived, he would have rendered the most important services to his country.' At length the enemy were driven at the point of the bayonet from these heights ; and under the cover which the possession of this ground afforded, Sir Rowland crossed the Zadorra at La Puebla, passed the difficult defile two miles in length, which is formed by the heights and the river, and then attacked and won the village of Sabijana de Alva, which covered the left of the enemy's lines. They on their part, made repeated attempts to regain this important point, and with that hope drew from their centre a considerable force : again and again they endeavoured to recover the village, but their efforts, though bravely and perseveringly made, were unsuccessful.

"The difficult nature of the country delayed the communication between the different columns, and it was late before Lord Wellington knew that the 3rd and 7th divisions, under the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at their appointed station. The 4th and the light divisions, however, crossed the Zadorra immediately after Sir Rowland had gained possession of Sabijana, the former at the bridge of Nancrales, the latter at the Tres Puentes ; almost

at the same time the Earl of Dalhousie's column arrived at Mendonza, and the 3rd division, under Sir Thomas Picton, charged and took the bridge higher up, and crossed, and was followed by the 7th. These bridges the enemy ought to have destroyed, but from the beginning of the campaign, a want of foresight had been manifested in all their operations, though when in action their generals displayed the habitual promptitude of experienced commanders. The four divisions which had now crossed, and which formed the centre of the allied army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Sir Rowland should move forward from Sabijana, to attack the left. The French had lined those heights with artillery, which opened on the allies, as soon as they attempted to advance from the river, and with so destructive a fire, that it became necessary for them to halt and bring two brigades of guns to oppose it. Meantime the contest was maintained at Sabijana with great obstinacy ; the enemy feeding their attacks from a wood, in which their troops were assembled in great force. But when a brigade which Sir Rowland had detached along a range of mountains to turn their flank appeared, and at the same time Sir Thomas Picton approached their front, they gave over their attempts to recover the village, and began to think rather of retreat, than of a successful resistance. And when Sir Thomas pushed on to take the large circular hill in the flank, while the 4th division moved simultaneously upon the village in the centre, their whole force prepared to fall back upon the town, retreating before the allies could close, but keeping up a hot fire from their artillery. The 3rd division first came in contact with their columns,

and by a gallant attack captured 28 of their guns, which they had not time to draw into the road. The other divisions pressed them in front. At this moment, both the winning and the losing game were played with equal skill, 'the allies advancing by echellons of battalions, in two or three lines, according to the nature of the ground ; and the French retiring before them in the most orderly manner, and taking advantage of every favourable opportunity to make a stand.' And here it happened that General Colville's brigade, which was on the left centre, and most in advance, became, by an accident of the ground, separated from its support ; the enemy, who lost no opportunity in action, attacked it with a far superior force, but the brigade stood firm, though out of 1,800 men it lost 550.

"While the right and the centre, following up their success, were pushing the enemy back upon Vittoria, the left was advancing upon that town by the high road from Bilboa. Sir Thomas Graham with that column, had been moved on the preceding evening to Margina, and had then so considerable a round to make, that it was ten o'clock before he began to descend into the plain. General Giron, with the Spanish army, had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs ; but having been recalled and reached Orduna on the yesterday, he marched from thence in the morning, so as to be in readiness to support Sir Thomas Graham, if his support should be required.

"The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced upon the Bilboa road, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Mayor, and both that village and Abechuco were strongly occupied as *têtes-de-pont* to the bridges over the Zadorra at those places.

The heights were attacked both in front and flank by Brigadier General Pack's Portuguese brigade, and Longa's Spanish division, supported by Major General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, all under the command of Major General Oswald; and they were carried, both Spanish and Portuguese behaving admirably. Longa then with little resistance, got possession of Gamarra Menor, and the larger village of the same name was stormed and taken by Brigadier General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry without firing a shot. The enemy suffered severely there, and lost three pieces of cannon. Sir Thomas Graham then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco with the 1st division; they formed a strong battery against it, under cover of which Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack, supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry. Three guns and a howitzer were taken on the bridge here, and the village was carried. While the contest of Abechuco continued, the enemy seeing their communication with Bayonne threatened, marched a strong body to their right in the hope of recovering Gamarra Mayor. They were driven back in confusion; made a second attempt, and were again repulsed, for Sir Thomas had loop-holed the houses in front of the bridge, placed artillery to flank the approach, and stationed several battalions concealed along the walls, and their fire repelled the enemy upon a third advance. But the French had two divisions of infantry in reserve upon the heights on the left of the Zadorra; Sir Thomas, therefore, could not cross the river with such a corps in front till the troops which had moved upon the centre



and the left of the French, should have driven them through Vittoria. About six in the evening, this was done, and the corps which held him in check retreated, lest it should be taken in rear. The left then crossed the Zadorra, took possession of the high road to Bayonne, and forced the right as well as the left centre of the enemy, back into the Pampeluna road ; and now they were unable to hold any position long enough for drawing off their artillery and baggage. In the expressive language of an officer who bore his part in the victory, 'they were beaten before the town, and in the town, and through the town, and out of the town, and behind the town, and all round about the town.' Every where they had been attacked, every where beaten, and now every where were put to utter rout.

"They themselves had in many actions made greater slaughter of a Spanish army, but never in any instance had they reduced an army, even of raw volunteers, to such a state of total wreck. Stores, baggage, artillery, every thing was abandoned ; one gun and one howitzer only were they able to carry off, and the gun was taken before it could reach Pampeluna ; 151 pieces of brass ordnance on travelling carriages were taken ; more than 400 caissons, more than 14,000 round of ammunition, and nearly two millions of musket-ball cartridges. The loss on the part of the allies consisted of 501 British killed, 2,808 wounded : 150 Portuguese and 89 Spaniards killed, 899 and 466 wounded—the total loss not amounting to 5,000. The French acknowledged a loss of 8,000—unquestionably it was greater ; not more than 1,000 prisoners were taken, for as soon as they found themselves irretrievably defeated, they ran ; and never did brave soldiers when beaten, display more ala-

erity in flight. Having abandoned all their ammunition waggons, they had not the power to blow up the bridges ; had this been done, the pursuit would have been greatly impeded ; attempts had been made to break them up with pick-axes, and in this they partly succeeded in several places. But the country was too much intersected with ditches for cavalry to act with effect in pursuit ; and infantry who moved in military order, could not at their utmost speed keep up with a rout of fugitives. Yet precipitate as their flight was, they took great pains to bear off their wounded, and dismounted a regiment of cavalry to carry them on. And they carefully endeavoured to conceal their dead, stopping occasionally to collect them and throw them into ditches, where they covered them with bushes. Many such receptacles were found, containing ten to twenty bodies.

"The Intruder narrowly escaped. The 10th Hussars entered Vittoria at the moment that he was hastening out of it in his carriage. Captain Wyndham with one squadron pursued, and fired into the carriage, and Joseph had barely time to throw himself on his horse and gallop off under the protection of an escort of dragoons. The carriage was taken, and in it the most splendid of his trinkets, and the most precious articles of his royal plunder. Marshal Jourdan's staff was among the trophies of the field ; it was rather more than a foot long, and covered with blue velvet, on which the imperial eagles were embroidered ; and it had been tipped with gold ; but the first finder secured the gold for himself. The case was of red morocco with silver clasps, and with eagles on it, and at either end the Marshal's name imprinted in gold letters. Lord Wellington sent it to the Prince

Regent, and was graciously presented in return with the staff of a Field Marshal of Great Britain. The spoils resembled those of an oriental rather than of an European army ; for the Intruder, who in his miserable situation had abandoned himself to every kind of sensuality, had with him all his luxuries. His plunder, his wardrobe, his sideboard, his larder, and his cellar fell into the conqueror's hands. The French officers, who carried the pestilential manners of their nation wherever they went, followed his example as far as their means allowed, and thus the finest wines and choicest delicacies were found in profusion. The wives and the mistresses of the officers had gathered together in one house, where they were safe, and from whence they were sent in their own carriages with a flag of truce to Pampe-luna. Poodles, parrots, and monkies, were among the prisoners. Seldom has such a scene of confusion been witnessed as that which the roads leading from the field of battle presented ;—broken down waggons stocked with claret and champagne, others laden with eatables dressed and undressed, casks of brandy, apparel of every kind, barrels of money, books, papers, sheep, cattle, horses, and mules, abandoned in the flight. The baggage was presently rifled, and the followers of the camp attired themselves in the gala dresses of the flying enemy ; Portuguese boys figured about in the dress coats of French general officers ; and they who happened to draw a woman's wardrobe in the lottery, converted silks and satins and embroidered muslins, into scarfs and sashes for their masquerade triumph. Some of the more fortunate soldiers got possession of the army chest, and loaded themselves with money : 'Let them,' said Lord Wellington, when he was informed of it ; 'they deserve all they can find,

were it ten times more.' The camp of every division was like a fair ; benches were laid from waggon to waggon, and there the soldiers held an auction through the night, and disposed of such plunder as had fallen to their share, to any who would purchase it. Even dollars became an article of sale, for they were too heavy to be carried in any great numbers ; eight were offered for a guinea—guineas which had been struck for the payment of the troops in Portugal, and made current by a decree of the Regency, being the gold currency. The people of Vittoria had their share of the spoils, and some of them indemnified themselves thus for what they had suffered in their property by the enemy's exactions.

"The city sustained no injury, though the French were driven through it, and though great part of the battle might be seen from every window. Nothing could be more mournful than its appearance that night,—a lantern at every door, and no one in the streets. It was the first place where the allies had found that the inhabitants were French in feeling. Two days of heavy rain impeded the pursuit ; but the rain saved many houses from the flames, for the French wreaked their vengeance upon every thing which they could destroy in their flight. Every house at which the pursuers arrived had been gutted by the fugitives, every village set on fire, and the few inhabitants who had not taken flight in time had met with no mercy ; at every step the allies found havoc, and flames, and misery, the dying and the dead. Such was the panic among the fugitives, that, finding the gates of Pampeluna closed, they attempted to force their way over the walls, and did not desist till they were opposed by a serious fire of cannon and musketry. A council of war

was held there, in which it was resolved to blow up the works and abandon the place ; with this intent they destroyed ammunition and tore down palisades from the outworks. But the Intruder knew that the possession of so strong a fortress would in some degree cover his flight ; and the last act of his usurped authority, was to order that every article of food and fuel should be taken from the Spaniards, who were within reach.—By the rigorous execution of this order, the quantity in the town was more than doubled ; and having left a garrison there, the flying force continued their way to the Pyrenees. Their rear was still in sight of Pampeluna, when the right centre of the allies were checked in their pursuit by a fire from the walls.”\*

No time was lost in improving the decisive and glorious victory of Vittoria. Sir Thomas Graham, with the left wing, advanced on Bilboa to intercept General Foy's retreat. That commander, collecting all the detachments he could, fell back on Bayonne, and barricaded the gates of Tolosa ; the place was attacked, the gates burst open, and the enemy driven from their positions ; but, favoured by the darkness and confusion, they escaped with smaller loss than they must otherwise have suffered. They were pursued along the road to Bayonne, and dislodged from every other post where they strove to make a stand, and driven across the Bidassoa, which forms the boundary in that direction between Spain and France. On the 30th Passages surrendered, and St. Sebastian was blockaded by Spanish troops. A force was also despatched against General Clauzel, who made a narrow escape, after losing all his guns. On the 1st of July the strong castle of Pancurbo surrendered, and

\* Southey's History of the Peninsular War, Vol. III.

soon every fortified post south of the Ebro was in the hands of the Spaniards. On the 6th, Suchet quitted Valencia ; and on the 7th, the last divisions of Joseph's army, driven by a succession of brilliant manœuvres, from the fertile valley of San Estevan, passed the Pyrenees. They had been pursued by Hill, through the difficult defile of Lanz, from Pampeluna, while their right had been threatened by Lord Dalhousie's movements towards San Estevan. Lord Wellington had now possession of the passes of San Estevan, Donna Maria, Maya, and Roncesvalles ; and from the rugged ridge of the Pyrenees, his sentinels looked down on the fertile plains of France. In forty-five days his army had penetrated thither from Portugal ; unresisted, he had marched 400 miles ; defeated in a general action the forces of Joseph, taking all his artillery, and despoiling him of much of his plunder, had driven him hurriedly through a strong and defensible country, and compelled him to quit with disgrace that land of which he was the titular sovereign. The only places in Spain still in possession of the French were Pampeluna and St. Sebastian ; preparations were made to reduce these their last strongholds.

When the intelligence of these triumphs reached England, the national feeling was strongly excited, and those demonstrations of general joy which they so richly merited took place. A rich consolation was now afforded for all the sacrifices Britain had so nobly made, when she saw the enemy of freedom so signally foiled. A general rejoicing took place throughout the land, and the victory of Vittoria was celebrated by the village bonfire, and the festive light of cities. Thanks were voted to the army by both Houses of Parliament, and

Marquis Wellington was made Field Marshal of England under circumstances of peculiar honour, accompanied by a letter from the Prince Regent, written with his own hand. The Prince thus wrote : " I feel I have nothing more to say but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has in its omnipotent bounty blessed my country and myself with such a General. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French Marshal ; I send you, in return, that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm."

The defeat at Vittoria was felt throughout Europe, and affected Napoleon in the midst of the successes he had gained in Germany, at the fields of Lutzen and Bantzen, with the most bitter anger and disappointment. It was evident that unless immediate efforts were made to arrest Lord Wellington's career, the most serious consequences might ensue ; the war might be carried into France if it were not confined to Spain : nor was it to be supposed, that those southern districts of the former country, which had already made such sacrifices, and displayed so many acts of heroic devotion on behalf of the royalist cause—whose minds were yet filled with recollections of the glorious struggle in La Vendée, and of the bravery of Laroche Jaquelin and Charette—would remain inactive while an invading army was hovering upon the borders of France.

Preparations were therefore made to meet the urgency of the crisis : the wrecks of the armies of Portugal, of the centre, and of the north were collected ; their thinned ranks were filled by reinforcements drafted by a new conscription ; and the command of the whole entrusted to his ablest general,

Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, who it was boasted would yet drive the British out of Spain.

Soult took the field at the head of nearly 100,000 men ; and with the immense advantage of being able to concentrate his whole force at any point he might select, whilst Wellington's army, with two sieges to cover, was necessarily spread over an extended line ; while from the nature of the ground it had taken up, the different divisions, though stationed in strong and commanding positions, were cut off from direct communication with each other, by abrupt and frowning precipices, steep rocks, and impassable ravines. It was evident that the approaching contest would be one of no ordinary interest, both from the momentous consequences involved, and from the high reputation of the hostile commanders.

Operations were commenced against Pampeluna and St. Sebastian. These were two of the four fortresses which Bonaparte had seized before throwing off the mask, and disclosing his designs against Spain. Both are strongly fortified—Pampeluna indeed is one of the strongest in the Peninsula, and St. Sebastian lay so near the French coast, that no vigilance could prevent its receiving supplies by sea. Lord Wellington therefore blockaded the one, and besieged the other. He had indeed first resolved to besiege Pampeluna, when Sir Rowland Hill invested it on the 25th of June, but after examining the formidable nature of the place, which mounted 200 pieces of ordnance, and was garrisoned by 4,000 men, he resolved not to assault it, as it could only be carried at a great waste of lives. Strong field works were thrown up around it, so that the investing force had command of the roads and communications : nine redoubts were erected on



favourable heights, armed with the guns captured at Vittoria; and Lord Dalhousie, who had hitherto conducted the blockade, committed its management to the Spanish army of reserve under O'Donnel.

Sir Thomas Graham with 10,000 men, was appointed to conduct the operations before St. Sebastian. This town is built upon a low Peninsula, which runs north and south; there rises at the extremity a rocky height called Monte Orguello, which measures at the base 400 yards by 600, and rises steeply to a point on which is a small citadel called La Mota, a defensive line near its foot cuts off this height from the town, and its southern face is covered with batteries which run into the lower defences of the place. The fortifications present a very formidable appearance. The sole land approach is by a low sandy isthmus, occupied by works, and commanded by the castle guns; but on the left flank are considerable sand-hills about 700 yards distant, which enfilade and take in reverse the front defences. A double line of works crossed the isthmus, with counter-scarp, covered way, and glacis, but those which run lengthways consist only of a single line, for, trusting to the water to render them inaccessible, they are built without any cover. But the northern line is completely exposed to the sand-hills; the Urumea, which flows by that side of the town, may be forded before and after low water for several hours, the tide receding so much that a space is left dry, by which troops may be marched to the foot of the line. It was determined to effect a breach in the eastern wall from the sand-hills, and as soon as it was formed, to storm by boldly advancing to the walls at low water; previous to which the enemy required to be driven from the convent of St. Bartolomeo and the advanced works.

The guns, ammunition, and stores, had been landed from Passages, and on the 14th batteries were opened against the convent. Next day the south end of the church was beaten down, the roof of the convent repeatedly in flames, and the building almost reduced to a shell. A 9-pounder and howitzer battery was planted on the opposite side of the Urumea, to fire on the adjoining redoubt ; on the 17th the works and convent were carried ; though the assailing party, by advancing too far, suffered much from the fire of the fortress, and were harassed by a body of troops sent to the relief of the convent : they kept their ground however. The batteries fixed on the sand-hills were finished, and mounted with twenty heavy guns and twelve mortars and howitzers ; and by the 25th two practicable breaches, respectively thirty and ten yards wide, were assaulted at low water time. A mine had been formed under the glacis of the front line of works, the bursting of which was to be the signal for the attack of a storming party of 2,000 men. Favoured by the confusion and alarm caused by the explosion, they were enabled to reach the larger breach with little loss ; but the garrison speedily recovering from their temporary panic, opened so sweeping and destructive a fire, in front and flank, that after a gallant resistance, they were driven back with the loss of more than one fourth of their numbers. Stimulated by this success, the French a few hours after, made a sortie, succeeded in surprising the Portuguese troops in the trenches, and carried back with them 200 prisoners.

Lord Wellington, who had on the 14th committed the conducting of operations to Graham, no sooner heard of this unfortunate assault, than he returned from his head-quarters at Lezaca ; and finding that

his supplies and ammunition were nearly exhausted, made arrangements for the temporary suspension of the siege. That same night, on his return to Lezaca, he was told that the French had overturned his troops at two passes to the right, had poured with an overwhelming force into the vallies of the Pyrenees, and were advancing on Pampeluna. To the officer who conveyed to him this alarming intelligence, he calmly replied, "We must do the best we can to stop them ;" and expressed his satisfaction with an arrangement Sir George Murray had made on his own responsibility, by moving a brigade to support the second division at Maya, from Echalar. But we must give a brief sketch of Wellington's position.

Byng's brigade, and Morillo's Spanish infantry, occupied the pass of Roncesvalles to the extreme right ; these were supported at Biscaret by Cole's, and at Olaque, by Picton's divisions. The vale of Bustan was held by Hill, who had Walker's and part of Pringle's brigades. The remainder of the 2nd division was placed in reserve in the valley ; and Amarante's Portuguese lay in the passes east of Maya, about fifteen miles left of Roncesvalles. Campbell's Portuguese brigade was at Las Alduides, within the French territory. The 7th and light divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, Vera, and the Puerto de Echalar, holding communication with Bastan from the last point. At San Estevan, the 6th division was placed in reserve. Longa's Spaniards communicated from Vera on their right, with those of Giron on the great road to their left, and with Graham's corps. The allies had a line of sixty miles to cover, and likewise provide for the siege of St. Sebastian, and the blockade of Pampeluna.

The mountain region which they occupied, presented peculiarly grand and picturesque features ; with the exception of the fertile and beautiful southern end of the vale of San Estevan, the eye of the beholder sees only the stern and wild variety of alpine scenery. Mountains of the most varied forms are piled together, at one part piercing the clouds with their gray and jagged pinnacles, at another, long and laborious paths conduct to green and rounded summits. Every where are wild ravines, and torrents choked up by huge fragments of rocks. These wilds are traversed by narrow and stony roads, winding through dark and shadowy fastnesses ; the only sounds heard by the solitary traveller, are the rush of the torrent, and the scream of the eagle.

Soult's first object was the relief of Pampeluna ; and he intended to attack on the same day both the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya, the roads from which converge upon that fortress. The right of the allied army, as we have already mentioned, was at Roncesvalles, ground consecrated by the genius of romance. On the 24th, Soult attacked General Byng, at the latter pass, with nearly 40,000 men ; Sir Loury Cole moved up to his support, and the two generals maintained the post throughout the day against great superiority of numbers, with distinguished bravery ; but in the afternoon their position was turned, and in the night they retreated to Zerberi. The same day Hill's corps was attacked by two divisions of the enemy's centre, who were aided by an unexpected chance. Two advanced videttes, posted on a high ground, to give timely warning of their approach, fell asleep during the heat of the day ; the enemy thus advanced unnoticed, and were in the camp almost before the

alarm could be given. Favoured by this unlooked for accident, they gained the position, which afforded them a passage to Pampeluna in the rear of the British right flank ; and though Hill, after a heavy loss, recovered the key of the position, he was unable to pursue his advantage and re-assume it, as he had heard of General Cole's intended movements ; he therefore fell back to Irurita. Wellington having been acquainted with these events during the night, took immediate steps to concentrate the army on the right, still keeping up the investments of the fortresses, for the relief of which the enemy directed their efforts. This would have been accomplished on the 27th, had the post of Zubiri been tenable, but Picton and Cole, convinced of the contrary, retired that same morning to a position four miles from Pampeluna, to cover the blockade ; and here as they took up their ground they were joined by Lord Wellington. His presence was required there, for the garrison's confidence was high because of the approach of their friends ; and the Spanish general, despairing of success, thought of raising the blockade, had spiked some of his guns, and the enemy having sallied forth, took fourteen of them. But the hopes of the garrison were doomed to be soon blasted.

The French assaulted a hill on the right, and vainly endeavoured to possess it, till night ended the conflict. Next morning Pakenham with the 7th division arrived from San Estevan, and formed across the valley of the Lanz behind Cole's left. Scarcely was this position taken up, when a superior force attacked them ; but it was so well chosen and defended, that the French were met by a simultaneous and well-directed fire on their front, rear, and both flanks, and driven back with im-

mense loss. Soult never recovered this false movement ; the battle became general along the whole front of the height held by the 4th division ; only in one point did the French succeed in establishing themselves upon the British line, and from that they were speedily dislodged. Every regiment of this brave corps charged with the bayonet ; and four of them made four different charges. Soult now perceived that no impression could be made upon the allies' front ; till he could do so in safety, he sent back his guns to France, and now determined to attempt the relief of Pampeluna, by attacking Sir Rowland Hill, and thus turning the allies' left.

The numerous and superior force which had caused Hill to retire, followed him, and arriving at Ortery on the 29th, brought a strong reinforcement to Soult. The position of the French, Lord Wellington considered, to be one of the strongest and most difficult of access that could be occupied ; but he resolved to attempt it ; and as they were manœuvring upon the British left, and endeavouring to turn it, he attacked them on both flanks, and in front, and notwithstanding the extraordinary strength of the post, carried it. In proportion as he gained ground, he sent troops to assist Hill, who was thus enabled to attack in his turn ; and Soult, now baffled on all points, began his retreat, which he accomplished in an orderly manner, but with severe loss. The loss of the French in these actions was estimated at 15,000 ; the British and Portuguese had 862 killed, 5,335 wounded, and 700 missing ; the Spaniards, who were only slightly engaged, lost but 204. " The actions of the Pyrenees were remarkable for the extent on which the operations were carried on, the nature and celebrity of the ground, and the importance of the object at

stake. Lord Wellington had never more occasion for all his skill, and that skill was never more eminently displayed ; his movements were all well-directed, well-timed, and well-executed ; and the superiority of the British and Portuguese armies, generals and men, was never more decisively proved than on this occasion, when the French displayed their utmost talents and exerted their utmost courage."

No sooner had Soult retreated, than preparations were made for the renewal of the siege of St. Sebastian ; the stores and besieging train were re-landed, and more artillery arrived from England. The garrison had spent the interval in strengthening and adding to their defences. The plan now formed was to lay open the two round towers on each end of the first breach, and connect it with the second, which was to the right ; add to it another on the left, and demolish a demi-bastion to the left of the whole, by which the approach was flanked. A mortar battery was also erected to annoy the castle across the bay. The siege recommenced on the 24th, and the batteries opened two days after ; two unsuccessful sorties were attempted by the garrison, who endeavoured to repair at night the injury done during the day ; cleared away the rubbish, and at the point to which the guns were directed, let down large solid beams, to break the force of the shot. On the 29th, the enemy's fire was nearly subdued, and they had lost many men by the spherical case-shot. On the 30th, the breaches seemed practicable, and men were invited to volunteer for the assault—"such men," it was said, "as knew how to show other troops the way to mount a breach." Sir Thomas Graham conducted the operations in person. The column

of attack was composed of the 2nd brigade of the 5th division, commanded by General Robinson, supported by 150 volunteers of the light division, 400 of the 1st, and 200 from the 4th, with the remainder of the 5th as a reserve, the whole under Sir James Leith's direction. About eleven o'clock on the 31st, the advanced parties moved out of the trenches, and the enemy almost instantly sprung two mines, to blow up the wall on the left of the breach, along which the troops moved ; but as they were not in very close order, or very near the wall, not above twenty men were crushed by the ruins.

The garrison prepared to make a most formidable resistance, and from two batteries of the castle opened a fire of grape and shells on the columns. The forlorn hope was cut off to a man, the front of the following parties were swept away as by one shot ; the breach, when the assailants reached it, was presently covered with their bodies ; many as they ascended, were overthrown, by those above them rolling down, and the living, the wounded, and the dead, were hurled down the ruins together. From the Murador and Prince batteries, from the keep of the castle, from the high curtain to the left of the breach, from some ruined houses about 40 yards in front, loop-holed and lined with musketry, a concentrated fire was kept up ; a line of intrenchments carried along the nearest parallel walls swept the summit of the breach ; and the hornwork flanked and commanded the ascent ; almost every possible point was manned.

All that the most determined courage could do, was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, as they were successively brought forward from the trenches. "Nothing," says Sir Thomas Graham,



"could be more fallacious than the appearance of the breach. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and that only by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of at least 20 feet to the level of the streets, so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the preparations for the siege, the enemy had prepared every means of defence that art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by intrenchments and traverses in the hornwork, on the ramparts, and inside of the town opposite the breach, ready to form a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain." No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge. So severe and continuous a fire was kept up on the way to the breach, that orders were sent to remove the dead and dying, which prevented the progress of the troops. Under these desperate circumstances, Graham adopted the bold resolution of ordering the guns to be turned against the curtain. A heavy fire was immediately opened upon it, *passing only a few feet above the heads of our own troops*, and kept up with unexampled precision of practice. Meanwhile Snodgrass' Portuguese gallantly forded the Urumea near its mouth, and got possession of the small breach on the river face.

It was determined to renew the attack. Once more the troops were ordered to ascend and brave every hazard to gain the ridge; an attack was also made on the hornwork. Just as the men reached the breach, the fire of the artillery occasioned the explosion of a quantity of cartridges, behind one of

the traverses of the curtain, which threw the French into considerable confusion. The narrow pass was gained and kept; hats were waved from the *terre plein* of the curtain, the troops rushed forward, and drove the enemy down the steep flight of steps near the great gate leading from the works into the town. At the same time a detachment which occupied the right of the breach, forced the barricades on the top of the narrow line-wall, and entered some houses near it. In many places scaling ladders were needed, before the men could get down. The assailants now effected a lodgment on the summit of the breach, and the troops impetuously pushed forwards. The French dead lay heaped upon each other between a round tower and the right breach. The contest was still continued from barricades in the streets, and musketry from the houses; but between four and five in the afternoon, the French were driven from their last defences into the castle. By this time several parts of the town were on fire, and to add to the horrors of the scene, the vindictive enemy fired shells into it. About three in the afternoon, the day, which had been very sultry, became suddenly cold; the sky was over-cast, and with the blended gloom of the rain and the smoke, gave the appearance of a dusky evening; but the darkness of night was fearfully lighted by the flames of the burning town.

A dreadful storm of thunder, rain, and wind ensued; and man's wrath rendered it more dreadful than the elements. Many officers had fallen, and the few that remained, could not restrain the headlong fury, and license of the men, many of whom, their passions heated by the terrible assault, raged like demons. The spectacle was terrific; for as the garrison of the castle fired down the streets, the

flames raged and the falling ruins crashed, the soldiery, mad with intoxication, were plundering the houses, and the frequent explosions of fire-arms, showed that a fearful work was going on.

Several days elapsed before order was restored, during which the town presented an awful scene. The few remaining inhabitants seemed stupefied with horror ; they had suffered so much that they looked with apathy on all around them, and scarcely moved, even when the crash of a falling house made the captors run. The bodies of English, Portuguese, and French soldiers lay heaped on each other, so determined had the one side attacked, and the other maintained its ground. Many of the assailants lay dead on the roofs of the houses near the breach. The bodies were thrown into the mines and other excavations, and there covered over so as to be out of sight, but so hastily and slightly that the air far and near was tainted ; fires were kindled in the breaches, to consume those that could not be otherwise disposed of. In the assault, 2,000 men and officers had fallen ; Sir Richard Fletcher, commanding engineer, an officer of great ability, was killed. Generals Leith, Oswald, and Robinson, severely wounded.

Preparations were now made to reduce the castle, but the operations of the besiegers were retarded by the necessity of quenching the flames which had spread through the whole town. On the 9th September, 59 pieces of artillery opened on the castle with such terrible effect, that in a few hours the white flag was hoisted on the Murador battery ; and the garrison, amounting to 1,800 effective men, and 500 sick and wounded, surrendered prisoners of war.

Soult made an attempt to relieve St. Sebastian, on

the very day upon which the British carried it. The chief strength of the covering army consisted of 8,000 Spanish troops, under General Frere. Two French divisions forded the Bidassoa in front of their line, ascending confidently the strong heights; the Spaniards stood steady, and when their column had nearly gained the summit, made such a strong bayonet charge, that the French broke, fled down the hill, and crossed the Bidassoa with such precipitation, that many were drowned by missing the ford. But having laid down a pontoon bridge, with 15,000 men they made a general attack on the heights of San Marcial. As the enemy came on, Lord Wellington rode along the Spanish line, and was received with loud and repeated vivas. The French got a second bayonet charge, fled for their lives, and were again driven in panic across the river; the bridge sunk with the pressure, and many with it, to rise no more. Lord Wellington spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the Spaniards on these occasions.

During the ineffectual attempt to reach St. Sebastian by the high road, strong columns of the enemy having forded the river, strived to turn the right flank, and gain the one which lay near it. As the heights there were not judged tenable, the Portuguese, and Inglis' brigades retired to a lofty and steep ridge near the convent of St. Antonia. No sooner did the French perceive this than they lost hope of gaining the position; but as the heavy rains during the day had rendered the fords impassable, they attacked Skerret's brigade on two points, in order to gain the bridge of Bera, and ultimately succeeded in effecting a passage by it, though exposed to a severe fire, which caused much loss. The defeats sustained in these attempts were

peculiarly mortifying to the French military pride as the Spanish troops mainly had been opposed to them.

After the fall of St. Sebastian, nearly a month elapsed before Lord Wellington could commence his movements on the frontier—for he could not assume the defensive till Pampeluna surrendered. But that he might do this with greater advantage when the proper season arrived, he resolved to deprive the enemy of an advanced position on the right of the Bidasoa, the key of which was the strong mountain of La Rhime, before the pass of Vera. Mont La Rhime had been already remarkable by having been the object of a severe contest in 1794, because its summit served as a watch-tower which commanded the whole country between the Pyrenees and Bayonne. On its top was a hermitage which the French had converted into a military post; repeated attempts were made to storm it, but it was found impossible to scale the rock on which it stands. The enemy held it that night, together with a rock on the mountain-range to the right of the Spaniards. When the fog cleared up next morning, Lord Wellington reconnoitred it, and perceived that it was least difficult of access on the right, and that an advantageous attack might be made at the same time on the enemy's works before the camp of Sarre. The rock was accordingly attacked and taken by Don Pedro de Gison, who also gained an intrenchment upon a hill which protected the right of the camp; the French evacuated all their works, to protect the approaches to the latter; these were forthwith occupied, and a battery fixed on the rock of the hermitage. Night put a stop to further operations, and the French took advantage of the darkness to retire.

On the 31st October the garrison of Pampeluna, 4,000 in number, surrendered after a four months' blockade ; and when Don Carlos de Espana took possession of it, he shewed a proper spirit, and refused to grant terms to the garrison till he ascertained that none of the inhabitants had been subjected to violence or ill-treatment during the blockade. In the autumn of this year, the British, exposed on the cold and cloudy summits of the Pyrenees, with only rude huts and tents to shelter them from the blasts, suffered many hardships ; the piquet and night duties were rendered peculiarly harassing in consequence of the inclement weather. Their propinquity to France caused many desertions, which severe examples were required to check. But no sooner did operations commence for entering the French territory, than the spirits of the men arose, and every heart beat high with confident expectations of victory and triumph.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Lord Wellington enters France—Crosses the Nivelle—Actions in the Pyrenees—Position of the French at Bayonne—Napoleon's Situation—Crossing of the Adour—Battle of Orthez—Soult retires to Toulouse—Battle of Toulouse—Marquis Wellington's return to England—His reception—Receives the thanks of Parliament—Made a Duke—Proceeds as Ambassador to Paris.

BEFORE commencing operations in the French territory, Lord Wellington issued to his army a proclamation, prescribing to them the conduct which they were to observe after passing the frontier. It is well worthy of preservation, as an impressive contrast to the conduct of the French Generals in Spain, who not only permitted, but themselves shared in excesses, the recital of which, shocks humanity.

"Officers and soldiers," he said, "must recollect that their nations are at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation will not allow them to be at peace, and is desirous of forcing them to submit to his yoke ; and they must not forget, that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy, in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal, have been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers, and their cruelties, authorized and encouraged by their chiefs, towards the peaceable inhabitants of those countries. To avenge this conduct on the innocent French, would be unmanly and unworthy of the nations to which the commander of these forces now addresses himself."

To enforce this admirable advice, was however, no easy matter. The British troops indeed under the strict discipline and inspection of their officers,



were effectually restrained ; nor was any such restraint in most cases necessary ; but the Spanish and Portuguese, burning with the sense of past wrongs, and their minds occupied by the remembrance of the atrocities committed by the French in the Peninsula, were disposed to retaliate on the inhabitants the injuries with which their own countries had been visited. Instances of outrage accordingly at first occurred ; but Lord Wellington's firmness in bringing the culprits to punishment, soon put a stop to these vindictive acts, which the peaceable demeanour of the people had done nothing to provoke. The strictest discipline was preserved during the campaign in southern France ; and the highest price demanded was paid for the forage and other supplies of the army. The inhabitants, many of whom had left their dwellings on the approach of the invaders, speedily returned ; and secure of a favourable market for their produce, opened a lucrative traffic. It was in this instance shewn how much the moral conduct and character of an army depends on its generals ; never perhaps since the days of the great Gustavus, had such discipline been maintained in an enemy's country ; the Spaniards and Portuguese, stifling their bitter remembrances, obeyed the injunctions of the great chief whom they had followed to victory, and behaved so well, that, by the confession of the French themselves, their own armies were those whom they chiefly dreaded.

On the failure of Soult's efforts in the Pyrenees, he proceeded to form a strong line of defence, twelve miles in length, protecting the town of St. Jean de Luz, and extending from the sea, across the Nivelle to the heights beyond Ainhoe. The whole position had been fortified with the utmost



care, particularly the right, which was protected by several formidable redoubts, and by a strong interior line. The central part of the line reached along the left of the Nivelle, which there forms a curve behind the mountain La Petite Rhone, and proceeding through a strong ridge beyond Ainhoe, crossed that river. All this time, the French General had been constantly receiving reinforcements from the general conscription, to which were added a special force of 30,000 conscripts, drafted from the provinces bordering on the Pyrenees: the inclement weather, by delaying the allies' advance, gave Soult time to organize and discipline these.

On the 10th of November the appointed attack took place. "Soon after midnight, the troops having formed under arms without the signal of trumpet or drum, began to descend the Pyrenean mountains by moonlight, by the different passes, and advanced to the verge of the line of the out-piquets, preparatory to the attack at dawn. This grand movement was made in the most profound stillness. As the columns moved onwards, the stillness was felt by all to be impressive. The village clocks striking the hours amid the darkness increased the general anxiety for day-break; and the first streaks of light in the east were watched by many thousand eyes with strong and almost feverish impatience. On reaching their stations, the troops were ordered to lie extended on the surface, and the columns were so posted that the intervening ground concealed them from the enemy.\*

Lord Wellington's plan was to divert the enemy by feigned attempts on the right wing—the strongest part—while his main strength was brought to bear upon the centre; by piercing which, the

\* Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns, Vol. III.

French wings would be separated. In event of this object being gained, it was possible, that by establishing his troops in rear of the enemy's right wing, it might be unable to retreat to Bayonne. At day-break, a brisk cannonade and skirmish of picquets along the line, showed that the action was commenced. A French redoubt before Sarre was easily taken, and the village itself abandoned. The light division also impetuously forced the lines of La Petite Rhone, and drove the enemy from the redoubts and heights behind Sarre, in defiance of a heavy fire from the French fortifications ; these however were abandoned successively without any great defence, and the enemy fled in disorder towards the bridges on the river ; one battalion, more than 500 strong, defenders of a solitary redoubt, was captured by Marshal Beresford.

Meanwhile, Sir Rowland Hill advanced against the height of Ainhoe in echellons of divisions. The 6th, having crossed the Nivelle, attacked the French right, in position behind a village, and carried the defences on that flank ; the 2nd division attacked a redoubt in a parallel ridge in the rear, with like success ; the two united, then advanced to Epelate, where the enemy, afraid of having their retreat cut off, abandoned their advanced line, and retired to Cambo. By these able and intrepid movements, the allies had established themselves in rear of the enemy's original position, and drove back their centre on their right. The French now drew up a large force in fighting order on the heights above St. Pè and Ascain. These were attacked by the 8rd, 7th, and 6th divisions, advancing two on the left, and one on the right bank of the Nivelle. The enemy opened a heavy fire both with artillery and musketry, but retreated in disorder as soon as

the columns closed up. Night put an end to the firing, and found the allies in rear of the French right. Under cover of night, Soult withdrew from the remaining part of his position, and left Lord Wellington's army in possession of the whole line. The issue of these splendid operations was, that Soult was driven from his long proposed and strongly fortified position, with the loss of 50 guns, 1,500 prisoners, besides stores and ammunition. Soult had 70,000 men, but his troops did not fight with their accustomed energy and spirit. The loss of the allies amounted to 500 killed, and 2,000 wounded, a loss not great, if we consider the strength and difficulty of the positions assailed. The enemy trusted to their works, and thought it impossible that guns could be brought against them over rocks, rivers, and mountains. They did not know British skill and activity; mountain-pieces on swivel-carriages, harnessed on the backs of mules trained for the purpose, were brought up the hills, and made to play, from positions considered inaccessible for guns; the foot and horse artillery, were alike active and expert, and the men dragged the cannon up steep precipices with ropes, or lowered them down where they could be used with greater effect.

The French now concentrated themselves within an intrenched camp in front of Bayonne. Lord Wellington took up a position strengthened by a line of defensive outposts, within two miles of the enemy; his left wing supported by the sea, his right at Cambo; the troops were cantoned between the Nivelle and the coast. The cold and wet weather, with the state of the roads, precluded farther operations for a space, and the wearied troops gladly enjoyed a month's interval of repose. Soult's posi-

tion was under the fire of the fortified town of Bayonne ; his right rested on the Adour, and was protected in front by a morass caused by a rivulet which falls into that river ; his centre rested with its right in this morass, and its left lay between the Nieve and the Adour ; resting upon the latter, defending the former, and communicating with General Paris' division, at St. Jean Pied de Port ; the whole position so strong as not to admit of an attack, so long as the enemy kept in force within it. As soon as the state of the weather and the roads permitted, materials for bridges were collected, and preparations made for the passage of the Nieve ; on the 9th November, Sir Rowland Hill with the right crossed at Cambo, supported by a division of Beresford's, which crossed likewise at Usteritz. Both these operations were successful, and the French, driven from the right bank, retired in the direction of Bayonne ; on a range of heights parallel with the Adour they arranged a considerable force ; but the British carried them and the adjoining village of Villa Franche. Next morning, Soult boldly attacked the British left under Sir John Hope, whose services on this occasion, Lord Wellington said he could not enough applaud.

The British fought with the utmost bravery, under Hope's skilful directions, who himself was in the thickest of the fight, had his hat and clothes shot through in many places, had two horses killed under him, and was wounded both on the shoulder and the leg. The French, though their plan of attack had been well framed and was well supported, were totally defeated by a comparatively small number of English. On the 11th and 12th, the

enemy made again two unsuccessful attacks on the same quarter.

Soult having thus failed in his attempts on the allies' left, passed through Bayonne during the night, and made a most desperate attack upon the right, under Hill : it was great odds, 30,000 French in massive columns, against 13,000 British and Portuguese. The enemy came on, determined to gain the ridge of St. Pierre, with the great road leading to St. Jean Pied de Port, and break through the position. Hill's dispositions were swiftly and ably made. A heavy fire of artillery caused great havoc among the advancing French columns ; still they established themselves in front of the post, and were gaining ground, when the brigades marching from the flanks arrived at the very time of need, and engaged them. The contest that followed was long and bloody, but in spite of the repeated advances of the French, they were at length driven back with great slaughter. Soult retired, finding that all his efforts were vain ; but he was pursued to the open ground, and his retiring and dispirited troops there sustained considerable loss. He attempted to make a stand on a favourable point before his intrenchments, and occupied in great strength a hill on his left ; from which his troops were driven by General Byng's brigade, and lost two guns. Hill's corps unsupported, maintained this gallant contest. Lord Wellington, who was unable to come up till all was over, expressed himself highly delighted with the ability and conduct of the General, and the brave demeanour of the troops ; and as he rode up to Hill, shook him heartily by the hand, with the frank remark, " Hill, the day's your own ;" and as he examined the ground, remarked that he had never before seen the bodies of

so many Frenchmen lying in so small a space. In these contests the French lost, by their own account, 1,300 killed and 4,600 wounded ; the allies had nearly 5,000 placed hors de combat. Thus baffled in all their attempts to dislodge the British, the French main body retired from Bayonne, and marched up the right bank of the Adour towards Dax.

The weather was very wet, and the roads so miry, that Lord Wellington placed his troops in cantonments and gave them a season of rest. The British advanced posts were now very near those of the enemy ; their right rested on the Adour, their left on the sea, and thus they remained in peace till the beginning of February.

Indeed the military glory of the imperial armies was now become obscured ; and a long succession of disasters in every quarter of Europe had made the troops lose heart. In the battle of Leipzig their forces had been destroyed ; Saxony and Bavaria had revolted ; and the success of Austria had brought the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies to the Rhine. Napoleon, everywhere beset by enemies and dangers, was demanding of the people, who had enjoyed such BLESSINGS under his sway, impossible sacrifices and exertions. He had caused the obsequious senate to pass a decree for the levy of 300,000 men, and the doubling of the public contributions : this was impossible, but still much was done to recruit his ranks, and replenish his exhausted treasury. But his people discontented, now openly murmured against his iron rule ;—the hard-working citizen apprehended ruin, the mothers of France bewailed their silent hearths—and all classes sighed and prayed for peace. In southern France especially, the inhabitants hated

Napoleon, and were anxious to send supplies to the British camp, such "golden opinions" had Wellington won from them by his secure protection from injury, and the strict honour of all his conduct towards them. They rejected the proposals repeatedly made to harass the British by irregular warfare, and cut off their supplies; and were content to leave to their own armies—the objects both of their fear and hatred—the prosecution of the war. It is curious to notice Napoleon's feelings at this time, as evinced in the following address to his council of state. His eyes were thoroughly opened to his perilous position. "Wellington," said he, "is in the south; the Russians threaten the northern frontier; Austria, the south-eastern, yet, shame to speak it! the nation has not risen *en masse* to repel them:—every ally has abandoned me—the Bavarians have betrayed me!—Peace? No peace till Munich is in flames!—I demand of you 300,000 men. I will form a camp at Bordeaux of 100,000—another at Lyons—a third at Metz. With the remnants of my former levies, I shall have 1,000,000 of men under arms. But it is *men* whom I demand from you—full-grown men, in the prime of life; not those miserable conscript-stripplings, who choke my hospitals with sick, and my highways with their carcasses.—Give up Holland! rather resign it to the sea! The word *peace* is ever in my ear, when all around should re-echo with the cry of war!" In such wild language did Napoleon give vent to the tumult of conflicting passions which boiled within his breast. He had reason to be agitated—for his throne was tottering and heaving under him! The people saw his hopeless condition, in spite of the lies and false reports with which the columns of the *Moniteur*, under his

personal inspection, were filled. Many of the French nation beheld with satisfaction the progress of the British and Foreign armies. The hopes of the exiled family were reviving ; and before the Duc d'Angoulême went to the British camp, an agent of Louis XVIII. arrived at Bordeaux, who was instructed to see M. de la Roche-Jaquelin, and inform him that the King depended on him for La Vendée. La Roche-Jaquelin—a name rendered famous for the sacrifices made by those who bore it in the royal cause—had been a firm friend of the Bourbons in their time of adversity ; he inherited the virtues, glories, and fate of his brother, and ended the proclamation to his followers in the same eloquent and emphatic words, used by him twenty years before, when he went forth to a hopeless contest with the revolutionary armies—“ *Si j'avance, suivez moi—si je recule, tuez moi—si je meurs, vengez moi.*” This gallant gentleman went through Anjou and Torraine, and speedily raised anew that feeling which the national convention had found so difficult to repress.

A plan was formed to free Ferdinand VII., but the person who should have conducted it, died just at the time when it was about to take place. La Roche-Jaquelin's designs were suspected ; an express warned him that Savary had issued orders to have him brought before him, dead or alive ; he escaped to Bordeaux, and thence with difficulty reached the British head-quarters, where he assured the commander that the inhabitants of Bordeaux were prepared to take up arms in the royal cause so soon as a British force should appear. He was anxious that a few hundred men should be sent to

\* If I advance, follow me—if I go back, kill me—if I die, avenge me.



land him on the coast of Poitou, and divert the attention of the troops, while he proceeded to raise the La Vendéans, who had already made so many sacrifices for the royal family. Lord Wellington heard his communication with much interest ; but doubting whether the people were really yet so prepared to take up arms for the Bourbons, declined to part with any troops for the proposed expedition—especially as he was now preparing to pass the Adour.

While Napoleon was endeavouring to arrest the nations against him in the north, by diplomatic arts, he was also trying to conclude a treaty with Ferdinand ; among the articles of which were, that Spain should be evacuated by the troops of France, as well as by those of Portugal and England ; and that all prisoners, whether English or Spanish, should be given up. This treaty, if agreed to, would have been eminently favourable to Napoleon, by giving to him all the garrisons in Valencia and Catalonia, all the prisoners taken in the war, and the opportunity of employing Suchet's corps in France.

Ferdinand was anxious that the treaty should be agreed to by the Spanish Government, and wrote twice to that effect ; the progress of the events which we have just narrated, however, defeated it. On the 1st of January, 1814, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and King of Prussia, passed the Rhine, and their numerous armies were a powerful reason why Napoleon should consent to the terms of a general peace as proposed by them. While they disclaimed all objects of conquest or personal aggrandizement, these potentates pledged themselves not to interfere with the internal concerns of the French nation ; but insisted that France should

remain content with her old boundaries, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Irritated by these demands, Napoleon urged the French to support him; but he was mortified to find that though hostile armies trod the soil of France, the people remained inactive. Besides, in open opposition against him were arranged both the royalists, who would rejoice to behold in his fall the punishment of his ambition, and who in his waning fortunes saw the dawn of hopes which in depression and solitude, they had cherished for many years; while the theoretical republicans spoke of violated professions, of outrages committed on freedom, public rights, and private property, during a reign in which the strength of the nation had been wasted in foreign wars, so that Napoleon had lost all claim upon the support of the people, whom he had regarded merely as slaves, made to perform his will. Apathetic indifference met him on every side; he sent an ambassador to Chatillon to confer about peace—and to strengthen his claims, prepared to take the field.

We must now return to the operations at Bayonne. About the middle of February, Lord Wellington's army advanced, cut off the communication of the French with St. Jean Pied de Port, and drove them successively across the river Bidouze, the Gave de Mouleon, and the Gave d'Oleron. In consequence of these movements, Soult was obliged to diminish his force at Bayonne, and to withdraw his troops from the right of the Adour, above the town.

While part of the army was thus occupied, Sir John Hope prepared to cross the Adour below Bayonne; and Admiral Penrose, with a naval force, waited to co-operate with him. General Stop-

ford, with a corps of 600 men, crossed on the 23rd on rafts constructed of pontoons ; the enemy, hoping to overpower him before succour could arrive, attacked, but, by the assistance of a rocket brigade, the French were repelled with considerable loss. At night a breeze arose, by which the vessels were enabled to reach the mouth of the Adour ; and the boats, which had been brought together for the purpose of constructing a bridge over the Nieve, attempted to make their way through the surf. The first, which had been selected as the safest, and had the chief pilot on board, overset ; the second gained the beach ; the rest returned to await the following tide, "it being scarcely possible," said the Admiral, "that one in fifty could then have effected the passage." To the south-west of the river a pilot was landed, who was to walk thence to the Adour, and make signals from within the bar to guide the vessels ; without, nothing was seen but one unbroken line of heavy surf—the bar in particular, at that time presenting peculiar dangers. But nothing, not absolutely impossible, can withstand the energy and perseverance of British sailors ; with the next tide, the boats and vessels crossed the tremendous surf, and made their way up the river, after an almost unequalled display of gallantry and skill on the part of officers and men. By means of these boats, a bridge nearly 800 yards in length, was thrown across the Nieve ; and Bayonne was closely blockaded by the troops, who were in constant readiness to stand to their arms.

The establishment of a communication across the Adour opened to the allied army the direct road to Bourdeaux, where a strong party existed in favour of the royalist claims. But as the district through which this lay was not only unproductive, but un-

favourable for military operations, Wellington resolved to march on Orthez, where Soult had arranged his forces in a strong position. Leaving, therefore, Sir John Hope with the left wing to blockade Bayonne, the British advanced in three columns. Beresford, with the left, by the high-road to Orthez ; the cavalry and 3rd division forded the Posi ; and Hill's corps moved directly on the bridge, but having no artillery, could not force a passage at that point. On the 27th of February, the 6th and light divisions crossed by a pontoon bridge ; and Hill, with the 2nd, remained on the high-road to Sauveterre, opposite the bridge and village. The passage of the river was difficult, from the depth of the ford, and the strength of the current ; but the soldiers, by steadily supporting each other, surmounted the danger without loss.

Soult's army was drawn up on a range of tabular heights about a mile in length, stretched in the direction of Dax, the right of which terminating in a bold and steep hill was protected in front by the village of St. Boes. His left rested on Orthez, commanding the passage of the river, while the centre retiring in the form of an arc, was covered by the protrusion of the wings. He had a reserve of Vilatte's and Harispe's divisions, and Paris' brigade. Wellington resolved on an immediate attack. Beresford was to carry the village of St. Boes on the right, and again the hill above it ; Picton was to fall upon the French centre and left ; Alten's light division was to proceed up a ravine between these two columns, and give support where needed ; and Hill having crossed the river by a ford about two miles off, was to master a point in Soult's rear, and cut off his communication with Pau.

At nine in the morning, Cole, with the 4th division, carried St. Boes, after a strong resistance ; Marshal Beresford directed his efforts against two lines posted on the hills above, but the ground was so narrow, that the troops, after repeated attempts, could not deploy to attack the heights ; and Lord Wellington, seeing that he could not turn his enemy's right without extending his line farther than safety permitted, changed his plan, and bringing up two other divisions, attacked this wing on the left, drove it from its position, and thus made the victory secure ; for his centre being forced, Soult was obliged to withdraw his guards, which had suffered comparatively little, and ordered a general retreat, under the fire of the British guns.

Meantime Hill forced the passage of the Gave above the town, and was moving towards a point in the enemy's rear, to cut off their retreat. As soon as the French perceived this movement, they quickened their speed—as they hastened, so did Sir Rowland, till their retreat became a flight ; they ran, and our men ran too, and the race continued till the French columns broke so completely as scarcely to preserve a vestige of order. An officer present, said that “in the battle they met the charge as lions, but that the pursuit was like hare-hunting : prisoners were literally caught by the skirts as they ran !” Wherever their flight was impeded, they suffered greatly ; the enclosures and ditches were strewn with their killed and wounded ; the infantry took 12 pieces of cannon and 1,200 prisoners, the cavalry many more. The victory, complete as it was, would have been attended by still more decisive results had not Lord Wellington been struck on the pommel of his sword by a musket-ball, and so severely bruised, that he could not

cross the intersected country in front in time to direct the movements of the various divisions in the pursuit. At dusk, the allied army was halted near Sault de Navailles ; it had lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, somewhat less than 2,300,—600 of which were Portuguese. The enemy estimated their own loss nearly at 15,000—the greater proportion by desertions of the conscripts, after the rout.

When we consider the danger to which Lord Wellington was exposed, we may justly say that the victory would have been most dearly purchased by *his* loss. So severe was the contusion suffered by him, that, though he did not mention the occurrence till the action was over, it was then necessary to lift him from his horse, as he could neither move nor stand unassisted. In connection with this incident we may observe that his *personal* behaviour as a soldier, was on every occasion as perfect as his conduct as a general ; the quality of bravery, indeed, he shared with all his army. “ But the quality for which, above all other officers, he is distinguished, is the union of the coolest patience with the hottest courage ; that sense of duty, which restrains him from an ostentatious exposure of a life, of the value of which he could not affect to be ignorant ; and that brilliant gallantry, which, on the proper occasions, flashes terror into the eyes of the enemy, and kindles in his own army an enthusiasm which nothing can withstand.”

The main body of Soult's scattered army, having been joined by two battalions of conscripts, and the garrison of Dax, retreated on St. Severe, while another column marched on Aire, for the protection of a magazine ; but not finding either Aire or St. Severe a tenable position, Soult fell back upon

Agen. Heavy rains, and the swollen state of the rivers, for a time impeded the progress of the allied army ; but as soon as the bridges which the enemy had destroyed could be repaired, Lord Wellington sent a detachment to occupy Pau, the capital of Bearn. Sir Rowland Hill then advanced upon the enemy, posted strongly on a ridge of hills, with their right upon the Adour. The Portuguese brigade of Da Costa, moving against them, could not drive them away ; they fell into confusion, but, as the enemy advanced to attack them in their disordered state, a brigade came to their assistance, and repulsed the French, who, after repeated attempts to recover their lost ground, were at length forced to give up their whole position, after sustaining considerable loss. Soult was then obliged to continue his retreat ; he conducted his army up the right bank of the Adour, in the expectation that Lord Wellington would follow him ; but he, finding the road to Bourdeaux open, immediately resolved to direct his right wing upon that important city—thus not only carrying the war into the heart of France, but to a royalist province. So soon as Napoleon's garrison at Bourdeaux were compelled to abandon that city, by the approach of Beresford with the Duke d'Angouleme, the inhabitants gave free expression to their sentiments of loyalty. All crowded to the gates to welcome the descendant of their ancient kings. The white flag waved from the summit of every steeple ; the white cockade was displayed on every breast ; Louis XVIII. was proclaimed, and the air rung with the long-forgotten shout of *Vive le Roi !* As the Duke entered the city, crowds pressed around him to touch his clothes or his horse ; some cried, " He is of our blood ; he was born a Frenchman, and feels like a French-

man !" numbers fell on their knees and blessed him ; mothers pointed him out to their children, and said, " Now we shall no longer lose all our sons in the war !" The long pent up feelings of royalty burst forth in a flood of emotion. These were not marks of selfish adulation ; the spontaneous tribute of their hearts was fraught with danger ; for the treaty of Chatillon was not yet concluded, and no other French province had yet made a decisive movement for the Bourbons. On the 1st of January, the allied sovereigns had crossed the Rhine, declaring their sole object to be the conclusion of a general peace, and the restricting of France to the territories she possessed before the Revolution. This manifesto produced much good ; it opened the eyes of the French, and convinced them that Napoleon's object in promoting the war, was personal aggrandizement and insane ambition.

Meanwhile the Emperor's conduct shewed the imprudence of desperation, and he was mad enough to add to his previous despotic feats, the dismissal of his legislative assembly with an insulting reprimand, thus forfeiting the allegiance of all who still entertained a hope of something like constitutional liberty under his sway ; while his immediate followers could scarcely brook his domineering and insolent demeanour. But he still retained his military skill, and hurrying from Paris to resume the command of the remnant of his army, succeeded in gaining, against very superior numbers, several important advantages over his antagonists, who, by ill-combined movements, were endeavouring to reach Paris ; he was thus in a condition of obtaining from the sovereigns peace on fair and honourable terms. But his ambition still deceived him. Though he consented to send an ambassador to



Chatillon, in obedience to the expressed desires of his people, he instructed him to use every means to delay and embarrass the proceedings of the Congress, so that it seemed difficult to judge how the negotiations would terminate. The French nation was little disposed to rise up in a body, and endure fresh sacrifices for Napoleon ; his only source of remaining strength was in those veteran soldiers whom he had led to his wars. Lord Wellington's march to Bourdeaux, struck a severe blow at his power, and the effect of the popular movement there was felt throughout all France.

Soult published an angry proclamation, full of abuse of the English nation, and invectives against the leader of the victorious army. Aware of Beresford's movement on Bayonne, he resolved to assume the offensive. He made a demonstration against Sir Rowland Hill, to whose support Lord Wellington sent two divisions. This reinforcement arrived before the French came up, and Soult judging that the British were too strong both in numbers and position to admit of attack, retired to Lambege. During the two next days the allied army halted to give time for the Spanish reserve from Irun and the heavy cavalry to come up. On the 18th of March, they moved onwards in two columns, on both banks of the Adour, the French retiring before them. Soult's rear-guards were found posted in the vineyards around the town of Vix, along a distance of several miles ; these were cleared that the army might advance by the high road. The French then retreated to Tarbes, near which Soult had concentrated his whole army on the right of the Adour. From Tarbes they were forced to retire by Hill's light troops, who charging through the streets, drove them to the heights ; and Clinton's

movement determined Soult to retire to a ridge of hills near his rear, stretching across the road of Tournay, and nearly parallel to it.

On the 24th, Soult retired to Toulouse, breaking down all the bridges in his way ; the weather once more favoured him by retarding the movements of his antagonists, so that he had time to fortify a position in front of that city. Lord Wellington's troops did not reach the Garonne till the 27th, when they halted on its left bank before Toulouse. Toulouse occupies a space of ground two miles in length from north to south, and a mile and a quarter in breadth from east to west. On the left bank of the river stands the Faubourg St. Cyprien, surrounded, like the city, by a lofty and ancient brick wall of considerable thickness, flanked by towers ; it is connected with the town by a bridge. Two miles below Bayonne the Languedoc canal enters the river ; this canal and river surrounds the city on three sides : on the fourth there is an open space between the Garonne and the former. To the east of the canal rises a range of heights, beyond which flows a river called the Ers ; over these pass all the roads from the eastward. The French had fortified them with five redoubts, connected by lines of intrenchments. "They had," said Lord Wellington, "made every preparation for defence with extraordinary diligence." The bridges over the Ers, by which their right could be approached, had been broken down by the enemy ; but as the roads from Ariege to Toulouse could not be traversed by artillery and cavalry, Wellington had no alternative but to attack the French in their formidable position.

On the 28th Lord Wellington attempted to throw a bridge across the river at Portel, a little above the town, which failed owing to the rapidity of the

current. When an officer upon this expressed his apprehension that it might not be possible to lay down a bridge till the river had fallen, Lord Wellington said in a voice of cheerful animation and at the same time of decision, "If it will not do one way, we must try another; for I never in my life gave up anything I once undertook." A few days after, Hill's corps succeeded in crossing, but the rains rendered the roads impassable; though this would have involved the cutting off of Soult's communication with Suchet, after repeated failures the attempt was abandoned. The enemy had, however, left one bridge standing at Croix d'Orade; this was secured by a party of hussars, who dislodged a superior body of French cavalry posted in the village. Early on the 10th of April, two divisions crossed the river—the whole army was under arms—and preparation were made for an attack.

Wellington's dispositions were as follows: Beresford, with two divisions was to cross the Ers by the taken bridge, and drive the French from Mont Blanc, then to proceed along the left bank till he gained the enemy's right, where he was to form and attack; Frere's Spaniards, after a simultaneous assault on the French left, were to march along the heights, and join Beresford; the 3rd and light divisions were to observe the enemy in the suburbs near the canal, and threaten the bridge and part of the town near the river; and Hill with the right was to keep the French within their intrenchments on the left of the Garonne. The cavalry were so disposed as to resist the French horse, wherever needed. The battle began at seven o'clock, when Picton drove in the French picquets at Pont Juneau; the enemy in retiring set fire to a large chateau, in the cypress avenues of which they had in vain sought refuge.

Beresford then crossed the bridge and carried Mont Blanc. He then proceeded along the Ers in three open columns, flanked by skirmishers, till, having gained the point of attack, they wheeled up and advanced in line against the French right, on their way exposed to a heavy cannonade from the enemy's guns, which were remarkably well served. Frere's Spaniards moved against the left, driving before them a French brigade ; but when they drew near the intrenchments, they were met by such a shower of grape, that they grew confused, and the enemy taking advantage of this, made a general attack, and drove the Spaniards down the hill with much slaughter. One regiment, however, gallantly retained its ground, till Lord Wellington recalled it. But, protected by the light division, the scattered Spaniards were rallied, and the French, after having gained a position for a very brief space on the right of the allies, were driven back.

Meanwhile Beresford had been more successful. Clinton's division had taken a redoubt, and established themselves on the enemy's line ; and Cole marched up the heights on the enemy's extreme right, and formed on the summit. The allies had now 10,000 men drawn up on the same range with the enemy, and Beresford only awaited the arrival of his guns, to follow up his success ; for without artillery the movements against the centre could not be continued, as the French still occupied a formidable line of intrenchments. The combat was therefore suspended ; and Soult had an opportunity of reinforcing his cavalry, and drawing from the suburbs of the town and the canal as many troops as he could command. He had undoubtedly gained some advantage by the repulse of the Spaniards ; and by the error of Picton, who, exceeding

his instructions by converting a false attack into a real one on the bridge nearest the Garonne, was stopped by the formidable nature of the ditch, and being exposed without cover to a most severe fire, compelled to retreat with a heavy loss across the river. Hill had succeeded in confining the enemy within their works before St. Cyprien, and threatening them with a formidable attack.

About noon, Beresford got up his guns, and the battle was renewed ; he moved along the ridge at the head of two divisions directed against the enemy's redoubts in line. Soult waited not for the attack, but anticipated it by a heavy assault both in front and flank upon the foremost division, commanded by Sir H. Clinton ; after a brief but fierce struggle, British bayonets decided the matter, and the French were driven back in confusion upon their works. The two chief redoubts, and the fortified houses in the centre of their position, were immediately carried by Pack's brigade. All these things were seen from the walls and roofs of Toulouse, which were crowded by anxious spectators. The French again advanced in a powerful body, pushed forward from the canal, made a vigorous attempt to regain the lost works, but were repulsed with severe loss. As a last chance, Soult changed his front, and took up a new line ; but all his efforts were vain—the enemy were driven successively from their redoubts, and compelled to retire across the canal, under cover of their fortified bridges. On the left of the Garonne also, Hill had obliged them to give up their whole advanced wall of intrenchments, and retire behind that of the suburb. By four o'clock the action was over : from the ridge the allies with their artillery looked down upon the city, and the inhabitants—with much more

of satisfaction than of grief—saw the English, Portuguese, and Spanish banners, waving upon the conquered hill. The victory was not gained without severe loss, for the combat was by both sides obstinately maintained. Of British and Portuguese 4,500 were killed and wounded, and the loss of the Spaniards exceeded 2,000—some of the British regiments, especially in the 6th division, lost more than half their numbers; and many superior officers were wounded. The French suffered less, from their advantageous position; but two of their generals were killed, and three taken with 1,500 of their men.

After the battle, Soult withdrew within the walls of the city, and made preparations for defence. At the prospect of a siege the inhabitants were much alarmed; while the army within their walls, in number 30,000, prevented them from making any demonstration of attachment to the cause which they favoured. On being summoned to surrender, Soult replied that he would rather bury himself beneath its walls; this was probably only meant as an empty threat, for the night following, conscious of the weakness of his position, he retreated with his whole force, and marched on Castelnandry. Great was the joy of the people of Toulouse, when the allied army took possession of it; and their enthusiasm was still more excited when they heard of the abdication of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons. On the 30th of March Paris had capitulated, and on the 11th April, Bonaparte had relinquished, for himself and his descendants, all claims to the throne of France. On the 13th the Count d'Artois entered Paris, and was received with all the respect due to his rank and claims by the Marshals, civic authorities, and great officers of

state ; and on the 20th, Napoleon left Fontainebleau, and set out for his mimic sovereignty of Elba.

It is melancholy to think that the blood shed in the battle of Toulouse might probably have been spared, had the actual-state of affairs in Paris been communicated without delay. On the evening of the 12th despatches from Paris arrived, and the restoration of the Bourbons was announced to Soult ; he refused to send his adhesion to the new government, and proposed only a suspension of hostilities till he could ascertain the real state of public affairs—waiting perhaps to see whether the star of Napoleon might not even yet recover the ascendant : Lord Wellington made arrangements to pursue him, but on the 17th, Soult acknowledged the provisional government of France. Toulouse was not the only scene of unnecessary slaughter. On the 14th, the governor of Bayonne made a fierce sortie upon the investing troops. By a furious attack with superior numbers, the French drove from the village of St. Etienne that part of the allied troops which were stationed there ; General Kay, who commanded the outposts, was unfortunately slain ; the picquets were driven back, and General Stafford wounded ; and Sir John Hope, hastening to the scene of action, had his horse killed, and was taken prisoner. The night was very dark ; and the French threw up blue-lights, and thus directed their guns. But reinforcements arrived, and the enemy were driven back to the citadel, after severe fighting at close quarters, during which many bayonet wounds were given on both sides ; and the opponents could only see to fight by the flashing of each other's muskets. In this affair, the allies lost 800 killed, wounded, and taken ; the French still more. With this tragic episode, the great drama of the war ended, and the long

struggle maintained by England against the power that had enslaved Europe, seemed closed.

In the middle of March, Bonaparte finding that he could make no farther use of Ferdinand of Spain, had unconditionally liberated him. He entered Spain by Catalonia, and proceeding by Gerona to Saragossa, went from thence to Valencia, where he resided for some weeks before he proceeded to Madrid. Every where he was joyfully received. He entered Madrid by a triumphal arch, and was received amid the salute of cannon, the joyful chime of the church-bells, and the acclamations of multitudes, who thus expressed their joy at the vindication of the national independence, the punishment of the tyrant who had brought such evils on their country, and the restoration of the legitimate king. His subsequent conduct it is not necessary for us to notice : it is sufficient to say, that, led astray by evil councillors, and in some measure forced by circumstances, he did not fulfil the expectations entertained by many, with respect to his future conduct towards the people who had done so much for him ; he requited ill the services performed by the Cortes and the Regency ; he conducted himself as a despotic ruler, by abolishing the liberty of the press, and by establishing the Inquisition, he gave but little pledge of the wisdom of his subsequent reign.

In concluding the history of Lord Wellington's brilliant and masterly operations in Spain and France, it is unnecessary to do more than point out to the reader the true value of his services. The career began at Roliça, and terminated at Toulouse, may be safely pronounced unparalleled in history. The military reputation and power of France were at their height, and there were those who believed it impossible to resist their force, when guided by



the daring genius of Napoleon. We have to consider that Wellington maintained the contest in a manner single-handed—without adequate support either from the English or Spanish Governments—with an army just recovering from a state of practical inefficiency. From the moment that he assumed the command, unfettered by inferior minds, the state of things was entirely altered. Divine Providence had raised up in Arthur Wellesley, an instrument to destroy the despotism of Napoleon, and break the chains of the nations. As he led his army on, each operation gave the troops and the nation fresh confidence in their general. Wherever he met the French, he defeated them ; when want of forces, of food, or of co-operation compelled him for a time to retire, it was with such order and leisure, that neither the hopes of his own army were weakened, nor those of the enemy raised. “After the battle of Talavera,” says Dr. Southey, in an animated and just panegyric, “and the series of provoking misconduct by which the effects of the victory were frustrated, he distinctly perceived the course which the enemy would pursue, and anticipating all their temporary advantages (which yet he omitted no occasion of opposing and impeding), he saw and determined how and where the vital struggle must be made. The foresight of a general was never more admirably displayed ; and if there be one place in the Peninsula more appropriate than another for a monument to that leader whose trophies are found throughout the whole, it is in the lines of Torres Vedras that one to Lord Welton should be erected. When he took his stand there, Lisbon was not the only stake of that awful contest : the fate of Europe was in suspense ; and they who, like Homer, could see the balance in the

hand of Jupiter, might then have perceived that the fortunes of France were found wanting in the scale. There the spell which bound the nations was broken ; the plans of the tyrant were baffled ; his utmost exertions when he had no other foe, and no other object, were defied ; his armies were beaten ; and Europe, taking heart when she beheld the deliverance of Portugal, began to make a movement for her own—for that spirit, by which alone her deliverance could be effected, was excited. Foresight and enterprise, meantime, with our commander, went hand in hand ; he never advanced, but so as to be sure of his retreat ; and never retreated, but in such an attitude, as to impose on a superior enemy. He never gave an opportunity, and never lost one. His movements were so rapid as to deceive and astonish the French, who prided themselves upon their own celerity. He foiled general after general, defeated army after army, captured fortress after fortress, and, raising the military character of Great Britain to its old standard in the days of Marlborough, made the superiority of the British soldier over the Frenchman as incontestable as that of the British seamen.

“ The spirit of the country rose with its successes. England once more felt her strength, and remembered the part which she had borne, and the rank which she had asserted in the days of her Edwards and her Henrys. Bonaparte had bestowed on France the name of the Sacred Territory : that boast was no longer to hold good ! Our victories in the Peninsula prepared the deliverance of Europe, and Lord Wellington led the army into France. Such was his influence over the men whom he conducted to victory, that not an outrage, not an excess, not an injury was committed ; and the French

who had made war like savages, in every country which they invaded, experienced all the courtesies and humanities of generous warfare, when they were invaded themselves. In Gascony, as well as Portugal and Spain, Wellington's name was blessed by the people. Seldom, indeed, has it fallen to any conqueror, to look back upon his career with such feelings ! The marshal's staff, the dukedom, the honours and rewards which his Prince and his country so munificently and properly bestowed, were neither the only nor the most valuable recompense of his labours. There was something more precious than these, more to be desired than the high and enduring fame which he had secured by his military achievements,—the satisfaction of thinking to what end those achievements had been directed ; that they were for the deliverance of two most injured and grievously oppressed nations ;—for the safety, honour, and welfare of his own country ;—and for the general interests of Europe and the civilized world. His campaigns were sanctified by the cause ;—they were sullied by no cruelties, no crimes ; the chariot-wheels of his triumphs have been followed by no curses ;—his laurels are entwined with the amaranths of righteousness.”\* We may farther add, that the Peninsular war was carried on in conformity with the highest principles, both of justice and state policy. It was not indeed undertaken from views of aggrandizement, or with the hope of adding new conquests to our dominions ; but it was a defensive, necessary, and retributive war, adopted to procure security for ourselves, with the noble object added besides, of “letting the oppressed go free.”

We cannot better conclude this chapter than by

\* Southey's History of the Peninsular War, Vol. III.

giving an account of the reception which the great warrior met with in his own country. On the 30th of April he left Toulouse, and proceeded to Paris, which he reached on the 4th of May, and was received with due respect by the sovereigns, statesmen, and generals, at the court of Louis XVIII. ; every where high honours awaited him. It was then known that he had been elevated to a dukedom ; and he had already received the insignia of every distinguished order in Europe. On the 10th of May he quitted Paris, and after paying a four day's visit to Toulouse, repaired to Madrid, where Ferdinand confirmed the honours paid to him by the Cortes, and appointed him Captain-General of Spain. On the 5th of June, he left Madrid, went to Bourdeaux, reviewed the troops, and made preparations for their embarkation. On the 14th, he took leave of the army in an excellent and highly characteristic letter of thanks, which will be found in the appendix. On the 23rd of June, he landed at Dover, under a salute from the batteries, and forthwith proceeded to London ; he was recognized as his carriage drove up Parliament Street, and was greeted with shouts and applause. After a short interview with his family he hastened to Portsmouth, where the Prince Regent gave him a worthy reception : his distinctions honoured him in the face of Europe, for the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were then at the English court. On the 28th of June, he first took his seat in the House of Lords. A great number of the Peers were present. On this memorable occasion he appeared in a field-marshal's uniform, with the insignia of the Garter, and was introduced to the house by the Dukes of Beaufort and Richmond. To support the dignity of his dukedom, £300,000 were

voted by parliament for the purchase of an estate, with such an additional grant of income, as made up the annual amount of his parliamentary allowances to £17,000. He had not been in England since his elevation to the peerage ; and thus, in his introduction to the House of Lords, his patents of creation as Baron, Earl, Marquis and Duke, were all read on the same day. No ceremony of honour was omitted on this occasion ; the Duchess of Wellington, and his mother, the Countess of Mornington, were present, seated below the throne. After the oaths had been administered, and the Duke had taken his seat, the Lord Chancellor Eldon addressed him for the purpose of conveying the thanks of the House, which had been voted to him the preceding evening, for the twelfth time. In performing this duty, Lord Eldon said, he could not refrain from calling the attention of His Grace and of the noble Lords present, to a circumstance singular in the history of that House—that upon his introduction he had gone through every dignity of the peerage in this country, which it was in the power of the crown to bestow. These had been conferred upon him for eminent and distinguished services ; and he would not have the presumption to attempt to state the nature of those services, nor to recapitulate those brilliant acts which had given immortality to the name of Wellington, and placed this empire on a height of military renown of which there was no example in history. He could not better discharge the duty which had devolved upon him, than by recurring to the terms in which that House had so often expressed their sense of the energy, the unremitting exertions, the ardour, and the ability with which the noble Duke had conducted the arduous campaigns of the Peninsula,—exertions

and ability which finally enabled him to place the allied armies in the heart of France, fighting their way through the blaze of victory. The glorious result of his victories had been to achieve the peace and security of his country ; while, by his example, he had animated the rest of Europe, and enabled her governments to restore their order. The Lord Chancellor then expressed his own satisfaction in being the instrument of informing the Duke, that the House unanimously voted their thanks for his eminent and unremitted services, and their congratulations upon his return to his country.

The House of Commons in voting their thanks, had also voted that a Committee of the House should wait upon His Grace, to communicate the same, and to offer him their congratulations on his return. The Duke in reply, signified that he was desirous of expressing to the House his answer in person. He was admitted in consequence the following day ; a chair was set for him toward the middle of the House : he came in making his obeisances, the whole House rising upon his entrance. The Speaker having informed him that there was a chair in which he might repose himself, the Duke sat down covered for some time, the serjeant standing on his right hand with the mace grounded, and the House resumed their seats. The Duke then rose and uncovered, and addressed the Speaker thus : " I was anxious to be permitted to attend this House, in order to return my thanks in person for the honour they have done me in deputing a Committee of members to congratulate me upon my return to this country ; and this after the House had animated my exertions by their applause upon every occasion which appeared worthy their approbation ; and after they had filled up the measure

of their favours by conferring upon me, at the recommendation of the Prince Regent, the noblest gift that any subject ever received !

"I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in me to take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the efforts made by this House and my country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support the great scale of operations by which the contest was brought to so fortunate a termination.

"By the wise policy of parliament, the government was enabled to give the necessary support to the operations which were carried on under my directions ; and I was encouraged by the confidence reposed in me by His Majesty's ministers, and by the commander-in-chief, by the gracious favour of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and by the reliance which I had on the support of my gallant friends the general officers of the army, and on the bravery of the officers and troops, to carry on the operations in such a manner as to acquire for me those marks of the approbation of this House, for which I have now the honour to make my humble acknowledgments. Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel ; I can only assure the House, that I shall always be ready to serve His Majesty in any capacity in which my services can be deemed useful, with the same zeal for my country which has already acquired for me the approbation of this House."

Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, who had sat covered during this speech, then stood up uncovered, and replied to His Grace in these words, "My Lord, since I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed, but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

"The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless at this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

"It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause, it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character, which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fates and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments: but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor; it owes to you the proud satisfaction, that amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence. And when the will of Heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to



adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth." When the Duke retired, all the members again rose, uncovered, and loudly cheered him.

On Saturday the 9th of July, the Duke of Wellington was entertained at a banquet by the corporation of London ; great cost and magnificence were displayed on the occasion, and he was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and with a splendid sword. In returning thanks, he, as invariably on other occasions, gratefully alluded to the support of his officers, and the bravery of his troops. When he received the sword, he energetically declared that he was ready, whenever called upon, to employ it in the service of his King and country, should it unfortunately happen that the general wish of Europe for a peace should be disappointed. He did not then suspect how soon his pledge would be redeemed.

On the 8th of August, he left England again, having been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the court of France. On his way to Paris, he visited the Netherlands, and, in company with the Prince of Orange, made a careful examination of the frontier fortresses on that line. On the 24th of August, he was presented to Louis XVIII., delivered his credentials, and took up his residence in Paris.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Napoleon's return from Elba—Duke of Wellington proceeds to oppose him—Preparations—Napoleon drives in the Prussian outposts—Battle of Quatre Bras—Battle of Ligny—Position of the Duke of Wellington's army—Battle of Waterloo, and total defeat of Napoleon.

It was not to be supposed that the exile of Elba would calmly remain in inglorious repose, forgetful of the stirring incidents of his past life. Louis, though desirous of promoting the interests of his subjects, and possessed of considerable talents and accomplishments, was unpopular; he was ill adapted for filling in such trying times, that throne which, amid the blaze of genius and victory, Napoleon had found insecure; and the French, whose national vanity had been fed by the Emperor's successes, were not yet prepared, after twenty years of constant excitement, to endure the reign of a prince of calm and easy temper. Discontent was widely spread throughout France; the royalists were offended and chilled by seeing those possessions which they considered the fruits of robbery and crime, enjoyed in peace; the old republicans could not brook legitimate monarchy, the army murmured for their lost chief, and their generals, accustomed to the glittering prizes on which Napoleon had allowed them to speculate, cared not for peaceful honours, while as they thronged the halls of the new monarch, to pay their awkward homage, their presence and intercourse tended to chill the affections of the royalist nobles, who naturally considered them as intruders. The fiery and volatile French, whom at all times it is so easy to excite, had their

discontents fanned into a flame of rebellion by the many personal and political adherents of the late government, who failed not to impress upon them that France was now "fallen from her high estate," and shorn of much of her dignity.

Such was the state of matters, when Europe was struck with amazement and dread by the intelligence that Napoleon, after escaping the vigilance of the English cruisers, had landed on the coast of France with a small detachment of guards—was every where welcomed by the soldiery, who crowded to his banners—and was marching upon the capital. The fruit of the secret conspiracies of the Bonapartists was now apparent. His partizans had done their work well ; every where it was reported that, repenting of his past errors, he was about to assume the sceptre of equity and peace ; that, as every detachment sent against him had only swelled his force, so no efforts could resist him. These representations did not over-rate the danger ; with a few honourable exceptions the soldiery, led on by their officers, joined him ; the last resource of the court, Macdonald's force, stationed near Fontainebleau, on the approach of the Emperor, trampled their white cockades in the dust, rushed from their ranks, and surrounded him with shouts of delight. Louis had already fled from the Tuilleries, and on the 20th of March, 1815, Napoleon once more entered Paris, where he was received at the palace by all the adherents of his cause ; and found in the apartments just vacated by the King, a brilliant assemblage of those who in former times had filled the most prominent places in his own councils and court. Napoleon sedulously improved the short space which intervened before the brief struggle which he was conscious awaited him ; professions of liberality

were made to conciliate the different parties, and every effort used to stir up the people ; a solemn ceremonial was held at the Champ de Mai ; Paris was fortified, and incessant preparations made in mustering and equipping the army,—in which Napoleon was aware his only chance of safety depended.

When this sudden change of sovereigns took place in France, the powers who signed the treaty of Paris were then in congress at Vienna, where the Duke of Wellington was present as the plenipotentiary of Great Britain, having left Paris for that capital on the 24th of January. The moment that the news of Napoleon's daring movement reached them, the Congress published a proclamation in these words :—"By breaking the convention which established him in Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended. By appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and manifested to the universe, that there can neither be peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance." All Europe once more prepared for war. It was evident that Napoleon owed everything to the soldiery—150,000 veterans unwilling and unaccustomed to ordinary labour, the treaty of Paris had thrown idle—and till this ferocious military force was effectually humbled, there could be no peace for the world. A formal treaty was immediately concluded, whereby each of the four great powers bound themselves to maintain in arms 150,000 troops. But the zeal of the contracting parties

went beyond the terms settled by the treaty of Vienna ; and scarcely was Napoleon seated on his throne, before he heard that in all likelihood he must do his best to defend it against 300,000 Austrians, 225,000 Russians, 236,000 Prussians, 150,000 men from the minor states of Germany, 50,000 from the Netherlands, and 50,000 English under Wellington, in all 1,011,000 armed men.

Napoleon, conscious of the stake for which he played, and of the odds against him, was indefatigable. When he landed at Cannes, the army numbered 175,000 men ; the cavalry had been greatly reduced ; and the effects of the campaigns of the three preceding years, was visible in the deficiency of military stores and arms, but especially of artillery. By incredible exertions, and notwithstanding the pressure of innumerable cares and anxieties, the Emperor, before the end of May, had 375,000 men in arms—including an imperial guard of 40,000 chosen veterans, a large and brilliant cavalry force, and a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. Not only was Paris strongly fortified, but all the positions in advance of it on the Seine, the Marne, and the Aube, and among the passages of the Vosgesian hills, with Lyons, had been guarded by strong defences. Massena, at Metz, and Suchet on the Swiss frontier, commanded divisions which were judged sufficient to detain Schwartzenberg for a time on the upper Rhine, and the siege of the fortresses behind him, would detain him still longer. Meantime, Napoleon resolved to attack the most alert of his enemies, the Prussians and English, beyond the Sambre—while the Austrians were thus held in check on the upper Rhine, and before the armies of the north could debouche on Mannheim, to co-operate by their right with Wellington and Blu-

cher, and by their left with Schwartzenberg. He thought that the Belgian army would offer little opposition ; and by some great battle, he hoped to break the confidence and shake the strength of the European confederacy.

Exertions corresponding to the magnitude of the occasion, were made by the allies—their troops poured in on the frontiers of France ; the Prussian advanced corps had already entered Flanders, and an army of English, Belgians, and Hanoverians was assembled in the Netherlands, under the Duke of Wellington. Wellington had arrived at Brussels early in April, and immediately concerted his plan of operations with the Prussian general, whose troops were collected on the Sambre and Meuse, and occupied Charleroi, Namur, and Liege ; the line of their cantonments communicated by its right with the Duke of Wellington's army ; so that, while they were ready to act in concert, each general had to keep up a separate line of communications, connected on the one side with England, on the other by the lower Rhine, with Prussia. The first object was to cover Brussels, and also to guard the approaches from France by Tournay and Mons, and prevent any attack upon Ghent from Lisle ; these roads were all carefully examined, and Wellington's army so arranged as to encounter any offensive movement. The main difficulty to provide for was, in case the enemy should advance on any single point with celerity and force, for the advance troops to check them, so as to afford time for the allied armies to concentrate in a position to protect Brussels.

Bonaparte left Paris on the evening of the 11th of June : he exclaimed as he entered his carriage, " I go to measure myself against Wellington." On the 14th at Beaumont, he assembled and received

that part of the army which had been prepared to act under his own orders ; they had been most carefully selected, and formed the most perfect, though by no means the most numerous force, with which he had ever taken the field ; it consisted of 25,000 of the imperial guard, 25,000 cavalry in admirable condition, 350 pieces of artillery, and veteran infantry enough to swell the host to 130,000 men. Marshal Ney commanded the centre ; Jerome Bonaparte the left ; Marshal Grouchy the right : among the infantry generals were d'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Girard, and Lobeau ; among the cavalry Pajol, Excelmans, Kellerman, and Milhaud. Bonaparte reminded them that this was the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, and asked "Are they and we no longer the same men ? The madmen !" continued he, "a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people is beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb. Soldiers ! we have forced marches, battles and dangers before us. For every Frenchman who has a heart the moment is arrived to conquer or to perish !" His oration, vigorous and animated as ever, thrilled to the hearts of the devoted soldiery.

Blucher's Prussians numbered 100,000 men. The Duke of Wellington's varied and motley army amounted in all to 75,000, of whom only 35,000 were English—and these chiefly young soldiers, for the flower of the Peninsular army had been sent to America. The King's German Legion however, 8,000 strong, were brave and excellent soldiers ; and there were 5,000 Brunswickers, worthy followers of their gallant Duke. The Hanoverians amounted to 15,000 ; the Nassau troops, Dutch and Belgian, under the Prince of Orange,

were nearly 17,000 men; but much dependence could not be placed in the Belgian part of the army. The first division occupied Enghien, Brain-le-Comte, and Nivelles, communicating with the Prussian right at Charleroi. The second, under Lord Hill, was cantoned in Halle, Oudevard, and Grammont—with most of the cavalry. The reserve, under Picton, were at Brussels and Ghent. Wellington chose Quatre Bras as the point at which, should Bonaparte advance on that side, he was to be held in check till the allied troops were concentrated. That junction was ably and certainly accomplished, though all Napoleon's skill in manœuvring and activity of movement were used to prevent it.

On the morning of Thursday the 15th, the French drove in the Prussian outposts on the west bank of the Sambre, and at length assaulted Charleroi: the purpose of Napoleon was now apparent—to crush Blucher before he could concentrate his own army, before Wellington could aid him, and then fall upon Brussels. In spite, however, of a severe loss, Ziethen maintained his ground so long at Charleroi, that the alarm spread along the whole Prussian line: he then fell back in an orderly manner upon a position between Ligny and Amand; where Blucher, at the head of his whole army, excepting Bulow's division, which had not yet come from Liege,—awaited Napoleon's attack. Bonaparte had thus failed in his attempt to beat the Prussian divisions in detail; it remained to be seen whether the second part of his plan, that of wholly separating Blucher from Wellington's army, would succeed. Accordingly, while the former concentrated his force about Ligny, the French occupied the main road between Brussels and Charleroi.



They drove in some Nassau troops at Frasnes, and pursued them as far as the farm-house of Quatre Bras, which derives its name from the circumstance of the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, there crossing each other.

At half-past one o'clock of the same day, a Prussian officer came to the Duke of Wellington's quarters at Brussels, with the intelligence of the French movements. By two o'clock the Duke issued orders to all his cantonments, for the divisions to break up, and effect a junction on the left at Quatre Bras: there the British general intended his whole force to assemble, by eleven o'clock of the following night, the 16th. That night a ball, which was to have been given at the Duchess of Richmond's hotel in Brussels, was intended to be put off; but as on reflection it seemed expedient that the inhabitants should be as little as possible acquainted with the progress of events, at the Duke of Wellington's request it proceeded—himself enjoining the general officers to appear in the ball-room, but each to quit the apartment quietly at ten o'clock, and to join his respective division *en route*. Soon after the younger officers were summoned from the dance, for the troops were already mustering. The Duke retired at twelve, and left the town at six next morning for Quatre Bras. The reserve quitted Brussels during the night, silently, and unobserved by the inhabitants, none but the military authorities knowing of the event till next day.

When Napoleon came up from Charleroi, about noon on the 16th, he was at first uncertain whether to make his main attack on Blücher at Ligny, or on the English at Quatre Bras. But the Anglo-Belgian army was not yet concentrated, while the

Prussian, with the exception of one division, was : he therefore resolved to devote his personal attention to the latter. The main strength of his army, accordingly, was directed against Blucher at three in the afternoon ; while the subordinate, yet formidable attack on Wellington's position, was begun by Ney with 45,000 men.

The Duke of Wellington had held a conference with Blucher on the morning of the 16th at Bry—and fixed with him the ultimate measures to be adopted, whatever course the events of the day might assume. The troops awaited the assault of Ney, under many disadvantages ; they were vastly out-numbered, and had most of them been marching since midnight ; while the French were comparatively fresh. The French had besides all the advantage of ground : they were posted among growing corn, as high as the tallest man's shoulders, which, with the sloping and unequal fields, enabled them to draw up a strong body of cuirassiers close to the English, yet screened from view. Many of the Duke's troops, his cavalry in particular, had a long way to march, and had not yet arrived ; so that, when the contest began, there was not more than 19,000 of the allies up, and of these only 4,500 British infantry.

It was very important to maintain the position occupied by the Belgians, which was an alignement between the villages of Sartà Mouline and Quatre Bras, the possession of the roads near which, it was of the utmost consequence that the allies should maintain ; for the high-road led to Brussels, and was intersected by that road which led to the right of the Prussians stationed at St. Amand. The road to Brussels to the right of the allies' position, is skirted by a large and dense wood called Le Bois

de Bosse ; along the edge of which was a hollow way almost like a ravine. The French strove to secure this wood, as from it they might debouche upon the Brussels road ; in spite of the efforts of the Prince of Orange, the Belgians gave way, and the French occupied the disputed post. At this critical moment, Picton's division, the Brunswickers, and one of the guards, came up, and entered into action. "What soldiers are those in the wood !" said Wellington to the Prince of Orange. "Belgians," answered he, ignorant that his troops had been driven thence. "Belgians !" said the Duke, who instantly discovered the state of matters, "they are French, and about to debouche on the road ; they must instantly be driven out of the wood." Maitland, with the grenadiers of the guards, after meeting a destructive fire from an invisible enemy, rushed determinedly upon it ; each tree, bush, and ditch, and particularly a small rivulet which runs through the wood, were successively made by the French points of determined and deadly defence, till they they were driven from every part. The French heavy columns again advanced to force the wood, but the close fire and determined charge of the British, drove them back. After a three hours' conflict of great severity, the British remained masters of this post.

The battle raged as fiercely on every other point. Picton's brigade, near the farm-house, suffered dreadfully from the volleys of the French, poured in from the rising ground ; while his men, entangled among the tall rye could not fire with precision. The regiments had then to throw themselves into squares to resist a desperate and sudden charge of the French heavy cavalry, who, from their concealment, succeeded in surprising the 42nd regiment ;

two companies of which, with their colonel, were swept off and cut to pieces ; their comrades avenged their death by pouring in such a murderous fire upon the cuirassiers, as compelled them to wheel about. But though defeated in this, they, with determined resolution, charged down the causeway to Brussels, to carry two guns by which it was defended ; the moment they approached, a fire of grape-shot opened on them ; and the Highlanders, posted behind the farm-house, poured in on their flank such a discharge of musketry, as almost destroyed them. At length, as the British divisions successively arrived, the French were driven off with much loss, which would have been increased, had the English cavalry been in a condition to pursue them. Ney retired to his original position at Frasnés, and night found the English, after a severe and bloody day, in possession of the field. Several regiments were reduced to skeletons, and many brave officers had fallen ; among others, the Duke of Brunswick, of chivalrous demeanour, was shot soon after the commencement of the battle ; and many other regretted names appeared in the bloody list of the slain. But the honour of the day was great, for the French, though infinitely superior, and favoured by the ground, had been decidedly repulsed.

With worse fortune, Blücher fought as severe a battle at Ligny : with 80,000 men, he had to encounter 90,000, led by Napoleon. Though the Prussians behaved with great bravery, the villages of Amand and Ligny were repeatedly taken and retaken during the course of the day ; and a body of French cavalry penetrated to the very heart of the position. It has been said that two of the French divisions hoisted the black flag—it is certain that on both sides little quarter was either asked or ta-

ken, for the most mortal hatred subsisted between the Prussians and French. In the course of the day, the brave old Prussian General, in heading a cavalry charge, had his horse shot under him, and in the tumultuous hurry of the fight was ridden over, unseen both by his own men, and the French. But Bulow had not yet arrived, and the successive charges of fresh divisions of the enemy, compelled the Prussians to retire. Blucher retreated on the river Dyle, towards Wavre. It was dark when the battle ceased, and Bonaparte did not know the route which the Prussians had taken till twelve o'clock on the 17th, when he ordered Grouchy to pursue them with 32,000 men ; but this corps did not move till three in the afternoon, were only at Gembloux that night, and did not reach Wavre till noon on the 18th, when Thielman's corps was attacked by them. At Ligny, the Prussians lost 14,000 men, and 15 pieces of cannon.

The Duke of Wellington did not hear of the Prussians' retreat till seven o'clock on the morning of the 17th ; for an aide-de-camp whom Blucher had sent to acquaint him of it, was killed. A patrol, however, sent out to Sombref at daylight, ascertained the state of matters ; they found out how little real success had been gained over the Prussians by the French, for Blucher had fallen back most leisurely, and his rear-guard did not evacuate Bry till three in the morning. The Duke had already collected his troops at Quatre Bras, and was prepared to have maintained that position ; but the retrograde movement of the Prussians, rendered it necessary for him to adopt a corresponding movement. He therefore retired by Genappe upon Waterloo, about ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th. His march was conducted so leisurely, and in such

admirable order, that the enemy did not venture to molest it ; but a large body of horse followed the cavalry of the rear-guard under Lord Uxbridge. Wellington retired to Waterloo in confidence of being joined there by Blucher before the decisive contest began. The day was rainy, the roads were covered with deep mud, and at the news of retreat, the spirits of the British soldiery sank ; but they immediately revived, when they reached the field, and heard of their leader's purpose ; having taken up their allotted stations, they bivouacked on the wet earth or among the dripping corn, amid a violent storm of rain, thunder, and wind, in the sure hope of victory on the morrow.

The only incident of note that occurred during the retreat, took place at Genappe, where the little river which runs through the town is crossed by a narrow bridge. A large body of French cavalry, headed by lancers, followed our rear-guard ; the lancers were attacked by the 7th hussars, but repelled their charge ; and were in their turn most severely handled by the first regiment of Life Guards, under Lord Uxbridge.

Having finished all his arrangements on the evening of the 17th, the Duke of Wellington rode across the country to Blucher, to inform him that he had thus far acted on the plan fixed at Bry—expressing at the same time his hope that he would be next day supported by two Prussian battalions. Blucher replied, that after leaving a single corps to keep Grouchy at bay, he would himself march to Waterloo with the rest of his army. Wellington returned to the scene of action, expecting that Blucher would be able to come up in time. But so terrible was the state of the cross-roads between Wavre and Mont St. Jean, and such torrents of rain fell, that

though Blucher began his march, he found it impossible to come up until long after the time anticipated.

"The scene of this celebrated action," says Sir Walter Scott, "must be familiar to most readers, either from description or recollection. The English army occupied a chain of heights, extending from a ravine and village, termed Merke Braine on the right, to a village called Ler La Haye on the left. Corresponding to this chain of heights, there runs one somewhat parallel to them, on which the French were posted. A small valley winds between of various breadth at different points, but not generally exceeding half a mile. The declivity on either side into the valley, has a varied, but on the whole a gentle slope, diversified by a number of undulating irregularities of ground. The field is crossed by two high-roads, or causeways, both leading to Brussels,—one from Charleroi through Quatre Bras and Genappe, by which the British army had just retreated, and another from Nivelles. These roads traverse the valley, and meet behind the village of Mont St. Jean, which was in the rear of the British army. The farm-house of Mont St. Jean, which must be carefully distinguished from the former, was much closer to the rear of the British than the village of that name. On the Charleroi causeway, in front of the line, there is another farm-house, called La Haye Sainte, situated nearly at the foot of the declivity leading into the valley. On the opposite chain of eminences, a village called La Belle Alliance, gives name to the range of heights. It exactly fronts Mont St. Jean, and these two points formed the respective centres of the French and English armies.

"An old-fashioned Flemish villa, called Hongo-

mont, stood in the midst of the valley, surrounded with gardens, offices, and a wood, about two acres in extent, of tall beach trees. Behind the heights of Mont St. Jean, the ground again sinks into a hollow, which served to afford some sort of shelter to the second line of the British. In the rear of this second valley, is the great and extensive forest of Soignes, through which runs the causeway to Brussels. On that road, two miles in the rear of the British army, is placed the small town of Waterloo.

"The British came on the field at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th. It was much later before Napoleon reached the heights of La Belle Alliance in person, and his army did not come up in full force till the morning of the 18th. Great part of the French had passed the night in the little village of Genappe, and Napoleon's own quarters had been at the farm-house called Caillon, about a mile in the rear of La Belle Alliance.

"In the morning, when Napoleon had formed his line of battle, his brother Jerome, to whom he ascribed the possession of very considerable military talents, commanded on the left—Counts Reille and D'Erlon the centre—and Count Lobau on the right. Marshals Soult and Ney acted as Lieutenant-Generals to the Emperor. The French force on the field consisted probably of 75,000 men. The English army did not exceed that number, at the highest computation. Each army was commanded by the chief, under whom they had offered to defy the world. So far the forces were equal. But the French had the very great advantage of being trained and experienced forces of that nation, whereas the English in the Duke of Wellington's army did not exceed 35,000; and although the German



Legion were veteran troops, the other soldiers under his command were those of the German contingents, lately levied, unaccustomed to act together, and in some instances suspected to be lukewarm to the cause in which they were engaged ; so that it would have been imprudent to trust more to their co-operation than could possibly be avoided.

"The British army thus composed, was divided into two lines. The right of the first consisted of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first corps of Belgians, under Lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the Prince of Orange, with the Brunswickers and troops of Nassau, having the Guards, under General Cooke, on the right, and the division of General Alten on the left. The left wing consisted of the divisions of Picton, Lambert, and Kempt. The second line was in most instances formed of the troops deemed least worthy of confidence, or which had suffered too severely in the action of the 16th, to be again exposed until extremity. It was placed behind the declivity of the heights to the rear, in order to be sheltered from the cannonade, but sustained much loss from shells during the action. The cavalry were stationed in the rear, distributed all along the line, but chiefly posted on the left of the centre, to the east of the Charleroi causeway. The farm-house of La Haye Sainte, in the front of the centre, was garrisoned, but there was not time to prepare it effectually for defence. The villa, gardens, and farm-yard of Hougomont, formed a strong advanced post toward the centre of the right. The whole British position formed a sort of curve, the centre of which was nearest to the enemy, and the extremities,

particularly on their right, drawn considerably backwards."\*

The plans of the two great leaders were sufficiently simple ; Wellington's object was to maintain his line of defence, till, by the coming up of the Prussians, he should have a decided superiority of force. The difficulty of keeping his ground, as we have already observed, was much increased by the late hour at which the Prussians arrived. Equally plain was Napoleon's plan : by rapidity of movements, and pushing forward great masses of force, to destroy the British before the Prussians could form a junction with them ; after which he hoped to destroy the Prussians in their turn, by attacking them on their march through the broken ground which lay between them and the British : in this expectation he was strengthened by the erroneous supposition that the detached corps under Grouchy would be able to keep the Prussians in check. According to his usual plan Napoleon kept his Guard in reserve that he might charge with them, when repeated attacks of column after column, and squadron after squadron, should cause the wearied enemy to waver.

The morning of the 18th of June broke heavily through dense masses of clouds ; the rain and tempest were over, but no "sun of Austerlitz" shone forth, for Napoleon to appeal to in addressing his troops : the whole day was gusty and stormy. Soon after ten o'clock, a great agitation was seen in the French lines ; and from one point, where stood a heavy column of infantry under arms, mounted officers were seen galloping with orders and reports in various directions. This was Napoleon's position, and the column was his famous Guard. Wellington

\* Scott's Life of Napoleon.

was chiefly stationed during the battle near a remarkable tree in the centre of his position ; but he moved during the action, with speed and resolution, to every part of the line where his services were needed.

Between eleven and twelve the battle opened with a cannonade from the French line, instantly followed by a fierce attack under Jerome, on the advanced post of Hougomont.—A cloud of voltigeurs preceded the column. The Nassau soldiers in the wood could not resist their force, and were driven back. The assailants forced their way into the grounds, surrounded the house on three sides, and made desperate attempts to enter ; but a detachment of the Guards who occupied the villa, resolutely defended it, and from the loop-holed walls of the house and garden, poured upon the French so severe and unintermitting a fire, that all the ground near was covered with their killed and wounded. Fresh British troops were now sent to the relief of this important post ; and after great loss the Coldstream and 3rd Guards drove out the enemy and remained in possession. But repeated and strong attacks were from time to time made upon it : and though the brave defenders of the chateau displayed the utmost courage and constancy, the gate of the yard was at one period half forced in ; but the French were repelled by the bayonet. Soon after the roof and upper walls were on fire from the shells of the French batteries ; but the combat was heroically maintained, and from the shattered and charred walls deadly streams of musketry continually poured forth.

At the same time that Hougomont was thus assailed, the whole of the French cannon kept up an incessant fire upon the line, particularly the right

and centre ; the British guns powerfully replied, and the centre advanced batteries, firing with case shot, caused dreadful havoc among the French columns that fed the attack on Hougomont. Perceiving that the assault on Hougomont had failed, Napoleon, under the fire of his tremendous artillery, directed a formidable attack both of infantry and cavalry upon the left centre. All the firmness and bravery of the British and their commander were here required. The light troops were driven in by the fury of this general charge and the foreign cavalry, by whom they ought to have been supported, gave way on all sides. The Black Brunswick infantry made the first steady resistance. Like most of Wellington's army during this action, each regiment formed a separate and nearly solid square, the soldiers several files deep. The distance between the masses afforded room enough to draw up the battalions in line, when they should be called upon to deploy, the appearance of the line resembling the alternate squares on a chess-board, so that when a squadron of the enemy's cavalry pushed between these squares, they were exposed at once both to a fire in front from the square in the rear, and to volleys on both flanks from the side ones ; during the day the French cavalry often experienced the murderous effect of these combined fires.—As the French column came up, General Kempt boldly advanced against it with only three British regiments in line—and these weakened by the loss of 800 men at Quatre Bras—poured in a volley and charged it ; while Pack's brigade, from the extreme left, bore down at the same time upon the right division of this column with the bayonet ; the French who had actually gained the crest of the position—could not stand this, and, after delivering their fire, turned

and fled down the declivity. It was here that the gallant Picton fell, a musket ball having passed through his brain. At this moment, too, Ponsonby's brigade of heavy dragoons made such an effective flank charge upon the French columns at the very time when they staggered under the heavy fire of the musketry, that they broke the column with great slaughter, and took two eagles, and 200 men, who were sent off to Brussels as the first fruits of the allies' success. But our cavalry pushing their advantage too far, were met by a strong body of cuirassiers on the one flank, and lancers on the other—and, having charged up to the enemy's guns which covered the attacking column and sabred the cannoneers—were involved confusedly in an unequal combat ; so that they were forced to retire, taking off, however, an eagle as they drew back. General Ponsonby, their commander, fell ; not expecting to come into action so soon, he was mounted on an inferior horse, his own charger not having arrived ; and got into a ploughed field where his horse stuck ; a body of Polish lancers, who gave no quarter, came up ; he had just time to take out his picture and watch and commit them to the charge of his aide-de-camp—his sole attendant—as remembrances to his lady, when both fell, pierced through by their spears. His brigade avenged their commander so well, that almost the whole Polish lancers were cut to pieces before the day was over.

Napoleon still persisted in obstinate attacks upon La Haye Sainte, and his infantry columns were supported by a division of cuirassiers. Against these the British brigade of heavy cavalry—the Life Guards, Oxford Blues, and Scotch Greys\*—

\* An incident related of the Scotch Greys, deserves to be remembered, on account of the *amor patriæ* which it dis-

were led. Their meeting was stern : a combat at the sword's point, worthy of the best days of chivalry, was kept up—the most desperate blows and passes were exchanged, the officers fighting hand to hand like the men—and, notwithstanding the weight and armour of the cuirassiers, the power of the horses, and the bravery of their riders, they could not stand the shock, but were literally *ridden down* in great numbers. It was the fiercest and closest cavalry fight perhaps ever seen ; and ended in several hundreds of the French being driven headlong over a gravel-pit, a confused mass of men and horses,—exposed to a close fire which soon put a period to their struggles.

After repeated efforts, however, the enemy's infantry succeeded in carrying the farm of La Haye Sainte, for the ammunition of its defenders was done ; and the French entering cut to pieces 200 Hanoverian sharpshooters, who had gallantly maintained the post : but from this position, which cost the French so much, they were at last driven out by shells. Indeed the contest still raged with uninterrupted fury, the enemy's efforts having in some degree slackened upon the centre and left, only to rage with double ferocity upon the right wing. Napoleon exhausted his energies in frequent and fierce attacks both of horse and foot, supported by the whole mighty strength of his artillery—200 guns keeping up a constant thunder upon the allied position. This fire was so destructive that Wellington directed his troops to retire beyond the exposed ridge, and lie flat on the ground, till on the

played. As they advanced to support a Highland regiment, all joined in the triumphal shout of " Scotland for ever !"—Napoleon's tribute to the bravery of these gallant cavaliers,—" How terrible those grey horses ride !"—is well known.

close advance of the enemy's horse, they were ordered to stand up in squares, advance, meet and repel their charge. The French cavalry undaunted, repeatedly charged to the very centre of the position—column after column like waves of the sea—with vain and useless devotion. They paid dearly for their bravery. As they came thundering up, apparently determined to sweep the squares from before them, their defeat, as they recoiled from the deadly volleys, resembled a heavy sea pouring itself upon a chain of insulated rocks, and then driven back. And amid all the tumult of that desperate action—the discharge of the artillery—the clash of arms—the shouts of the infuriated combatants—the groans and the shrieks of the wounded and dying—the men behaved as on parade; and so certain was their orderly fire, that between the proper intervals the aide-de-camps coolly walked their horses round the squares. The steady bravery of our men shone with the brightest lustre. In vain did desperate heroes among the French cavalry discharge their carbines and pistols at the squares to induce them to break the ranks; they regarded nothing but the actual charge, and waited for the word of command to repel the squadrons by their musketry. In vain did the cuirassiers ride round these serried walls of steel, watching for an opening; in vain did they cut desperately at the men, or stand and gaze till shot down. In vain did the most formidable artillery deal destruction on the thinned squares; as the men dropped fast down, their comrades closed up their places, and the fronts remained unbroken. Never did the French make more desperate efforts: they prodigally courted destruction; and more than once did their cavalry seize for a moment the British bat-

teries on the brow of the position. The cannons were never withdrawn; the horses only were taken to the rear; the gunners fired to the last moment, and then, with their implements, took refuge in the nearest square; and when the French were beat back, again hurried to their guns, to discharge their contents upon the retiring foe. An incessant fire was kept up from the artillery, though it was little more than half the number that Napoleon had; and its formidable discharges were supported well by the unintermitted rolling fire kept up by the whole British line.

Notwithstanding this undaunted defence, the situation of our army was becoming critical. Wellington had placed the best troops in the front line; these had already suffered severely, and the quality of the foreign troops brought up to support them proved, in more than one instance, unequal to the arduous task. The Duke himself saw a Belgian regiment waver as it crossed the ridge of the hill, and was advancing from the second to the first line; he rode up to them, halted the regiment, and endeavoured to lead them into the fire himself; but all his efforts were vain, and other troops had to be brought up in their place. During the scene of tumult and carnage, indeed, Wellington was every where, on account of the position of the armies, and the nature of the ground, exposing his person with a necessary but painful freedom: where the struggle was most arduous, in the hottest fire, and front of the danger, he was seen, as Waller says of Lord Falkland,

——— "exposing his all-knowing breast,  
Among the throng as cheaply as the rest."

There was scarcely a square which he did not visit in person, encouraging the men by his presence,



and stimulating the officers by his directions. During a hostile charge, he threw himself into one, and Providence protected his head during the fiery shower. From his central post, he watched every movement, formation, and advance of the enemy, piercing through the smoke of battle with an eagle's eye, and galloping to every point—however exposed,—if it seemed to require his presence. Many of his short phrases addressed to his troops had a talismanic effect. As he stood before Mont St. Jean, in the middle of the high road, several guns were pointed at him, distinguished as he was by his suite, and the movements of his staff who went and came with orders. The balls repeatedly struck, on the right hand of the road near him. "That's good practice," said the Duke to one of his staff; "I think they fire better than they did in Spain." Riding up to the 95th when in front of the line, and threatened with a formidable charge of cavalry, he said, "Stand fast, 95th—we must not be beat—what will they say in England?" On another occasion, when brave men were falling every minute, he said with cool confidence, as if he had been merely a spectator, "Never mind, we'll win this battle yet." Another regiment, in close combat, was addressed by him in a common sporting phrase; "Hard pouding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest."—All who heard him issue orders, received fresh confidence from his readiness, decision, and cool composure. His staff fell man by man beside him, yet seemed in their own agony only to regard his safety. Sir William De Lancy fell from his horse, struck by a spent ball;—he said to those who came to assist him, "Leave me to die; attend to the Duke." Sir Alexander Gordon received his mortal wound

while expostulating with his General on the personal danger to which he exposed himself. Lieutenant Colonel Canning, and many others, died with Wellington's name upon their expiring lips. An aide-de-camp was sent with an important message to a general of brigade; on his return he was shot through the lungs, but borne on by the consciousness of duty, he rode up to the Duke, delivered the answer to his message, and then dropt from his horse apparently a dying man. If the gallant and faithful behaviour of his subordinates be regarded as a proof of his merits and virtues, never did chief receive so many and such affecting proofs of it; and the tribute which he paid to their memory proved how deeply and sincerely he felt this.\*

As yet, however, it did not seem certain whether all these sacrifices had not been made in vain. The French, though repulsed on every point, persevered in incessant attacks, and the British squares, from the constant firing and assaults, presented a diminished and less formidable appearance. One general officer stated that his brigade had lost one-third of its numbers, and that the survivors were so exhausted with fatigue, that a brief respite, however short, seemed absolutely necessary. "Tell him," said the Duke, "what he

\* No man had ever more confidence in his troops, or did more justice to them, than Wellington. "When other generals," he has said, "commit an error, their army is lost by it, and they are sure to be beaten; when I get into a scrape, they are sure to get me out of it." The men amply returned this well-deserved confidence. "Bless thy eyes!" said a soldier in Spain, when Lord Wellington passed by him for the first time after he had returned from Cadiz to the army, "Bless thy eyes, I had rather see thee come back than see ten thousand men come to help us!"

proposes is impossible. He, and I, and every Englishman in the field, must die on the spot which we now occupy."—"It is enough," replied the general; "I, and every man under my command, are determined to share his fate."—"A friend of ours," says Sir W. Scott, "had the courage to ask the Duke of Wellington, whether in that conjuncture he looked often to the woods from which the Prussians were expected to issue? 'No,' was the answer, 'I looked oftener at my watch than at any thing else. I knew if my troops could maintain their position till night, that I must be joined by Blucher before morning, and we would not have left Bonaparte an army next day. But,' continued he, 'I own I was glad as one hour of daylight slipped away after another, and our position was still maintained.'—'And if,' continued the querist, 'by misfortune the position had been carried?'—'We had the wood behind us to retreat into.'—'And if the wood also had been forced?'—'No, no; they could never have so beaten us, we could have made good the wood against them.' " This brief but characteristic conversation has been adduced to shew that even though the English had sustained a temporary disaster, still the plan of the campaign had been so regulated, that Napoleon could only have had a brief and temporary glimpse of success.

Still the battle was far from being decided. It was about three o'clock when La Haye Sainte was taken, and after this the enemy repeatedly attacked the British position between the two roads. Hougomont was still beset, and a prolonged conflict was hotly maintained upon the plateau above and behind that post, where the Guards under General Maitland, bore the brunt of a heavy cannonade,

and pushing forward their squares as the French horse retired, were engaged with columns of the enemy's infantry. Along the whole plateau to the Charleroi road, the contest was maintained in a similar manner; the infantry retiring somewhat beyond the fire of the artillery, then rising up and advancing in echellons of squares to meet the French cavalry, and occasionally going down the slope far enough to engage their infantry. The British horse, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in the early part of the day, were chiefly then in reserve; but were ever ready to charge such of the French as made their way through the intervals of the squares. All this time not a single square had been broken, and the enemy had suffered severely; though our ranks were sadly thinned by the superior numbers and formidable artillery which had been bearing on them for so many hours. At five o'clock the Prussians had not come up. It was rumoured indeed that Bulow's corps was at St. Lambert, and that Blucher was marching up from Wavre; but encumbered by the state of the roads, and their heavy artillery, only a few weak patrols of horse had as yet appeared on the French right. The fire of Prussian artillery was heard in that quarter a little after five—but it appeared to retire and cease; for Bulow, with only two brigades and a corps of cavalry, was kept in check by Lobau. Grouchy also formed a strong resistance to part of the Prussians at Wavre. About half-past five, two brigades were brought from Hill's corps to the centre front, in anticipation of a renewal of the attack on the weaker part of the position near La Haye Sainte. There was a pause on both sides, only broken by the noise of the cannon. The crisis

of the struggle was at hand. Napoleon was desperate, and resolved to sacrifice his last chance of retreat before the Prussians came up ; though his cavalry was already wrecked, and he had lost, besides, 15,000 men. There was no time to lose, for the Prussian guns were beginning to thunder on his flank, to the great joy of Wellington, who said, "There goes old Blucher at last ;" and by the light of the setting sun his forces were seen issuing from the wood.

Napoleon had still 15,000 men of his own faithful Guard, who, placed during the action either on or behind La Belle Alliance, had hardly drawn a trigger. Leaving his more remote point of observation on the heights in rear of his line, Napoleon led them forward in person to the foot of the allied position ; he then caused them to defile before him, and telling them that the English army was nearly destroyed, and that to carry the position they had only to brave the fire of the artillery, he concluded by pointing to the causeway, and exclaimed, "There, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels !" He was answered by loud shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, which induced our men and the Duke to think that Napoleon would in person lead them forward to the attack ; and every eye was directed to that quarter, but from the mist and the clouds of smoke, nothing could be distinctly seen. Meantime Wellington altered the position of his forces, so as to repel the assault ; and the 2nd and 3rd battalions of Guards were formed in line and marched to the brow of the hill, where they were ordered to lie down and shelter themselves from the fire.

Led by Marshal Ney, the Imperial Guard advanced dauntlessly, rallying as they went such of

the broken cavalry and infantry as yet maintained the conflict. The British line, by the successes on the right wing, had gradually all pushed forward, and was now changed from a convex to a concave position, so that the artillery raked the French columns as they came upon the causeway ; and so accurately were they directed, that the heads of the columns were constantly cut off, and they seemed to make no progress. Borne on however by the impetuosity of those in the rear, they at length reached the plain, and attained the summit of the ridge where the British lay concealed. At this important time, the Duke of Wellington, who had placed himself immediately behind the Guards, when he thought them near enough, gave the order, "Up, Guards, and at them." They sprang to their feet, as if by magic, poured in on the French a well-aimed fire, which made them stagger ; a second volley put them in a kind of panic ; and the Duke, galloping close up in their rear, called out, "Forward, Guards !" They advanced with three cheers, and rushed down the hill upon the French with pointed bayonets ; but before they got within twenty yards, the hitherto unvanquished veteran Guards of France—the "Sacred Band" of their army—turned from the shock and fled. Meanwhile General Adam's corps, keeping pace with the Guards, advanced on the enemy's left flank, and discharged several effective volleys ; Pack's troops also came to the charge ; on the right and left the cavalry fell upon them, and they were nearly destroyed. Ney fought sword in hand on foot ; his clothes were pierced through with balls, and he was the last to quit the struggle. Napoleon's only hope was gone ; he had refused to hear of the increasing strength and

progress of the Prussians upon his right flank, trusting that his Guards would yet redeem the day ; but when he saw them recoil in disorder, the cavalry mixed with the fugitives, and trampling them down, he said to his aide-de-camp, " They are mingled together—all is lost for the present ! "—then shook his head, and looked down as pale as a corpse. Soon after, two large bodies of British cavalry were seen rapidly advancing on either flank, and the Prussians were closing up his rear ; now was the time, had his spirit dictated it, to die a warrior's death ; but he said to Bertrand, who remained at his side, the fatal words, " All is over—it is time to save ourselves ! " With ten or twelve attendants, he put spurs to his horse and fled, leaving to their fate the gallant army which had that day shed their blood for him with such profusion.

Meantime the Prussians drove the right wing of the French before them. The Duke ordered his army to form four deep ; and, as he gave the command, the sun streamed forth, as if to shed his parting glories on the conquerors of that terrible day. Fatigue and wounds were forgotten when the word was given to assume the offensive. The troops were instantly ready, and the illustrious conqueror, with his hat in his hand, himself led the general charge. The whole British army in line rushed eagerly down the slope, and up the acclivity beyond it, driving before them the scattered French who still maintained the combat. Amidst increased slaughter the whole of the enemy fell back, and the remains of the grand army rushed away from them in one universal and tumultuous flight. As the British closed up, the French guns had gradually ceased firing ; the cannoneers abandoned them—

the drivers of the train cut the traces of their horses—infantry and cavalry, officers and soldiers, mingled in the headlong torrent; the fields and causeway were covered with baggage-waggons, broken arms, and overturned artillery, and flyers and pursuers drove headlong over the bodies of the slain and wounded. Everywhere the cry of "*saute qui peut*" was raised by the French; and the scene from which they fled, resembled a shore strewn with wrecks after a terrible shipwreck. The only attempt at resistance was made by four battalions of the Guard, who threw themselves into squares, and stood firm; but these were soon swept away; the British crowned the French position, and 150 guns fell into their immediate possession. It was most fortunate that the Prussians were now on the field in force, for our cavalry were so exhausted, that it was impossible for them to continue the pursuit; whereas the Prussians were fresh, and eager to press on. Their march and advance crossed the van of the British army, beside La Belle Alliance, and near it the Duke of Wellington and Prince Marshal Blucher met, and embraced each other with hearty congratulations: the victorious allies exchanged military greetings,—the Prussians halting their regimental bands to play "God save the King," and the British returning the compliment with three cheers to the honour of Prussia. Blucher ordered every man and horse in his army capable of action to press on the rear of the French, without allowing them a moment to rally. The night was clear and bright, and the Prussian cavalry rode after the fliers, and cut them down every where without mercy; taking a dreadful revenge for the cold-blooded cruelty of which the French had been guilty throughout the campaign, and es-



pecially during that day. The Prussians suffered none to escape with whom they came up, and the death of General Duhesme was an instance of the implacability of their revenge. One of the "Black Brunswickers," seeing him at a little distance, rode up; the General begged quarter: the soldier looked briefly and sternly at him, with uplifted sabre, and only said, "the Duke of Brunswick died the day before yesterday, and thou also shalt bite the dust."—The French had behaved most savagely throughout the day; their spearmen as they rode over the field, thrust their lances into the wounded; and many of their prisoners, after having been stripped, were massacred.

The British army bivouacked on the ground occupied by the French on the preceding night, and the Duke of Wellington returned to Brussels. As he rode over the plain, a bright moon spread her pale splendour on the field of battle, looking down mournfully on the heaps of bodies; in the stillness which had succeeded to the roar of battle was only heard the cries and stifled groans of the wounded and dying. As he rode slowly along, he could not restrain his tears; for the full flush of triumph was past, and there came with appalling force the thought of how many who had passed with him through other battles, had survived to fall in this. The words of the conqueror that night will be long remembered: as Wellington leaned back in his chair he rubbed his hands convulsively together, and repeatedly exclaimed, "Thank God, I have met him—thank God, I have met him." The loss on both sides, as might be expected in a battle which involved the fate of an empire—was tremendous; the English were no novices in war, and even those who had seen the bloody conflict of Albuera,

and the murderous scenes before the walls of Badajos and St. Sebastian, never saw such slaughter as at Waterloo. On the 18th, the British lost 15,000 men killed and wounded, 100 officers were slain, and 500 wounded, many of them mortally ; of the officers who fell many were highly distinguished. The cypress was indeed plentifully blended with the laurel-wreath ; all the glory and advantages of this immortal day, were required to reconcile the thoughts to the high price which it had cost. The Duke of Wellington was repeatedly in great danger—only himself, and one individual of his numerous staff, escaped unwounded in horse or person. The French loss cannot be calculated ; but it was immense ; for besides what they lost in the battle, many were cut down in the retreat—and of 75,000 men, the half were never again collected in arms.

By the victory of this memorable day, the Duke of Wellington finished his military career of unequalled glory. Since the star of Wellington had arisen, it is true that we had become as accustomed to success on the land as on the wave ; but even the great majority of the nation—sure as they were of victory and success—anticipated it not at once so full and final. The glory of all former fields seemed to fade before that of Waterloo. At Cressy, at Poitiers, at Agincourt, battles had been gained of old over superior numbers of the French—but the victory had been rendered comparatively easy by the presumption and rashness which had delivered the conquered over to our armies. Marlborough had gained at Blenheim a less stubborn conflict, much more restricted in its fruits ; and now all the previous victories of Wellington, from Assaye to Toulouse, were eclipsed by this his last and greatest triumph, which had secured peace to Europe, and

prostrated for ever the power of the French Emperor. Boundless joy—in spite of the heavy number of the brave men who had fallen—was felt at home. The Duke's despatches, dated the 19th, from the field of Waterloo, reached London late on the night of the 21st June. Next day the thanks of Parliament, and a resolution to erect a public monument to the Duke of Wellington and the army, were carried by acclamation. "The splendour and importance of the victory," said Lord Lansdowne with great felicity in the House of Lords, "almost stifles every feeling of individual sorrow, and make us regard the fate of the brave who fell as that of men *quos nefas est lugere*."\* No new title remained, which could be conferred upon Wellington; he had won them all from the knighthood to the dukedom; but Parliament to its former munificent grant added £200,000 for the purchase of an estate and the erection of a splendid mansion. Parliament also voted thanks to Field Marshal Blücher and the Prussian army. The rewards of merit were extended to every rank and individual of the British army present on the 18th; each regiment was to bear the word Waterloo on its colours; all the privates were to be borne upon the muster-rolls and pay lists of their respective corps as Waterloo men, and each one of them was to reckon that day's work as two years' service

\* We cannot resist here from quoting a remarkable saying of Wellington's, which shewed how much he felt this heavy loss. "Believe me," said he, "excepting a battle lost, nothing can be half so melancholy as a battle won. The bravery of my troops has hitherto saved me from that greater evil; but to win even such a battle as this of Waterloo, at the expense of the lives of so many gallant friends, could only be termed a heavy misfortune, were it not for its important results to the public benefit."

in the account of his time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged; the subaltern officers the same; and it was also enacted that henceforward the pensions granted for wounds should rise with the rank to which the officer attained. At the suggestion also of Mr. Williams Wynn, a medal—of the same material for officers and men—was given to each survivor, as had been done after the battle of the Nile.

It is unnecessary to do more than mention the events which followed. Bonaparte brought to Paris the news of his defeat, and scarcely any sympathized with him in his deserved reverses. Those who had not committed themselves irretrievably, hastened to make their peace with the Bourbons, and an attempt to prop up the fallen power, by the nomination of "Napoleon-II." failed, and the Emperor abdicated. The rest of his story is well known; he had ample space afforded him for meditation at St. Helena, where his tortured and restless spirit at length quitted the body, after seven years of confinement, or rather of inspected residence. The wreck of his army, under Grouchy, effected their retreat to Paris, where Davoust took the command. The allies followed close in pursuit—Paris was invested; but Wellington and Blucher, anxious to spare the capital, in terms of a military convention allowed the French army to march out, with their material, artillery, and baggage, and retire beyond the Loire. Political matters were left absolutely at the disposal of the restored monarch, who entered Paris the day after the allied troops had taken possession of it. The easy temper of Louis XVIII., and indeed the necessity of circumstances, induced him to take into favour such of the chief military and political authorities as had for

the most part remained neutral since his expulsion ; only a few, among whom was Ney, received the reward of their treachery : but the French had their feelings much mortified, when compelled to give up many of the treasures of art, of which they had spoiled other countries in the course of the war.

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## CHAPTER XV.

Sketch of the Duke of Wellington's Political Life—Master-General of the Ordnance—Mr. Canning's Ministry—Lord Goderich's—Wellington Prime Minister—Prospects of the Government—Test and Corporation Acts repealed—Catholic Emancipation—Defeat and Resignation of the Ministry—Accession of the Whigs to office—Reform Bill—Wellington called upon by the King to form a Ministry—His failure—William IV. dismisses the remnant of the Reform Administration—Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel take Office—Their various defeats and Resignation—Dinner to the Duke of Wellington at Dover—Estimate of his Grace's Character.

IN briefly noticing the political career of the Duke of Wellington, it seems necessary to do little more than recall a few dates and facts to the memory of our readers. The events which took place during his premiership are still too near, and too much involved in the mist of party politics, to permit a perfectly cool and impartial judgment being passed upon them. In that brief space scarcely any statesman had greater difficulties to contend with ; none, it may be safely said, served the crown more zealously and disinterestedly, to the best of his judgment ; none, by the straight-forward honesty and manliness of his character, has deserved or secured

more respect, even from those who differ most widely from him in political opinions.

From the years 1822 to 1827, His Grace held the office of Master-General of the Ordnance. On the accession of Mr. Canning to the premiership, after the demise of Lord Liverpool, he resigned this. If the views with which Mr. Canning assumed the reins of government amounted to a compromise or betrayal of the principles which he before held, it must be acknowledged he paid dearly for the sacrifice. His administration had no other elements of stability than the genius of a character more brilliant than solid. He had frequent conferences with the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, and Lord Eldon, the issue of which was that they, with other distinguished opponents of the Catholic's claims, who had been supporters of Lord Liverpool, declined to take office, and the vacancies were filled up by others, the most distinguished of whom were Mr. Huskisson and Lord Harrowby, who coincided more with the Premier's views. A negotiation was opened with several members of the Whig party, who promised their support, and two of whom, Lords Lansdowne and Carlisle, looked forward at the close of the session to seats in the Cabinet. But all calculations were at an end by the death of Mr. Canning, who, worn out by exertion, and chagrined at the lowering prospects of his ministry, (for an amendment upon the Corn Bill had been carried by the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords) expired on the 8th of August, 1827. The 8th of January, 1828, Lord Goderich, who had succeeded him, resigned. The King immediately sent for the Duke of Wellington, and commissioned him to form an administration, with himself at its head. His Grace entered into communication with Mr. Peel, and

others of Lord Liverpool's ministry who had seceded on Mr. Canning's elevation. The arrangements of the Cabinet were as follows : the Duke of Wellington, First Lord of the Treasury ; Right Hon. Henry Goulbourn, Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor ; Lord Bathurst, President of the Council ; Lord Ellenborough, Lord Privy Seal ; Right Hon. Robert Peel, Secretary of State for the Home Department ; Earl Dudley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ; Right Hon. William Huskisson, Secretary of State for the Colonies ; Right Hon. John Charles Herries, Master of the Mint ; Viscount Melville, Secretary of the Board of Controul ; Earl of Aberdeen, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster ; Right Hon. Charles Grant, Treasurer of the Navy and President of the Board of Trade ; Viscount Palmerston, Secretary of War ; Duke of Clarence, Lord High Admiral.

Such was the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet. Many difficulties were before the Premier ; parts of the country were in a discontented and feverish state : the opposition was active, and Ireland was shaken by the demands of the Catholic Association, and the agitation of an Emancipation Act. They assumed a threatening attitude, and backed their demands by menaces of violence. The parliamentary session was opened by commission on the 29th of January. The only incidents of consequence noticed in the debate was the allusion to the battle of Navarino, with the exception of some remarks of Mr. Brougham on the phenomenon of a military prime minister, in which he for the first time introduced the celebrated phrase : " A new power," said he, " has arisen. *The schoolmaster is abroad*, I trust to him and to his primer, and do not fear the soldier with his bayonet."

The first step of the Duke of Wellington's ministry, was to appoint a finance committee ; the next was the settlement of the corn laws. The bill introduced for this purpose differed materially from that brought in by Mr. Canning in the preceding year. The principle of protecting duties, instead of absolute prohibition, and of an ascending and descending (not fixed) scale, according to the fluctuations of price in the home market, was maintained ; but the medium price, which Mr. Canning had taken at 60*s.*, was raised to between 64*s.* and 65*s.* The next important incident was the carrying of Lord John Russell's motion for a committee to take into consideration the regulations of the Test and Corporation Acts ; the result was a resolution approving of their instant repeal. The measure was taken up by Government ; Mr. Peel having declared that after the decision of the House, he was satisfied that the existing laws on the subject were inexpedient, and no longer necessary. The bill then passed the House of Lords.\*

\* A remarkable incident connected with the Government deserves notice here. Ministers opposed the disfranchisement of East Retford. Mr. Huskisson having pledged himself to vote for the transfer to Manchester, voted against his colleagues, and on his arrival home from the House of Commons at two in the morning, addressed a letter marked "confidential," and enclosed it in a cabinet-box to the Duke of Wellington, in which he said, that after his vote on the East Retford question, he thought it his duty without loss of time, to offer him (the Duke) an opportunity of placing his (Mr. Huskisson's) office in other hands. The Duke received the letter at ten in the morning, and without loss of time, like Mr. Huskisson, availed himself of the opportunity thus offered. He immediately laid the letter, as a resignation, before the King. Mr. Huskisson was thunderstruck, and declared that he never intended to resign :—his letter was he said, "private." Lord Dudley called upon the Duke of Wellington, and told him, "it was a mistake." The



Ministers were now about to be embarrassed by a much more serious and troublesome question than this—the long-disputed one of Catholic Emancipation. On the 8th of May, Sir Francis Burdett moved for a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the Catholic claims, with a view to a final and conciliatory adjustment ; the debate lasted three evenings, and the motion for a committee was carried by a majority of six ; and the result of the whole was the passing a resolution that the proper time for finally settling the question had come. A conference was requested with the Lords upon the subject, who agreed to take the matter into consideration on the 9th of June. On that occasion, the Duke of Wellington spoke at length, grounding his opposition to the present entertainment of the question on motives of expediency. The discussion, he then thought, would lead to no practical result, but only disturb the public mind ; the agitation ought to be allowed to subside, and in the end, something might be done, as no one was more desirous than he was, of seeing matters brought to an amicable conclusion. The Marquis of Lansdowne's motion, that the House should concur in the Commons' resolution, was lost by 46.

Meanwhile, the Catholics, whose newly-raised hopes had been suddenly depressed by Mr. Can-

Duke replied, " It is no mistake—it can be no mistake—it shall be no mistake ! " After this peremptory decision, Mr. Huskisson had the weakness to offer an explanation through Lord Palmerston. It availed not—the Duke was immovable. Even after this farther mortification, Mr. Huskisson had the pertinacity to make a written appeal to the Duke of Wellington, which led to a correspondence, and the same humiliating failure. With Mr. Huskisson went out Lords Dudley, Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant ; their places were filled by the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir George Murray, Sir H. Hardinge, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald.

ning's death, assumed a bolder attitude than before. Not satisfied with violent invectives, they resolved to commence determined and systematic opposition to Government ; and finding that the forty shilling freeholders had a powerful influence at the county elections, they used every means, and succeeded in obtaining command of the voices of this class in Ireland. The first opportunity was afforded by the election for Clare county. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, one of the members, had vacated his seat by accepting the office of President of the Board of Trade. He had supported emancipation, but they could not pass over his connection with Government, and Mr. O'Connell, the leader of the Catholic Association, was started in opposition to him. The Association had found out that the omission of a clause rendered it possible to return a member to serve, though he could not take his seat ; and the success of the Catholic candidate would afford Ministers a proof of the absolute sway which the Association possessed over the Irish tenantry. By active exertions on the part of the emissaries of the Association, backed by the influence of the priests, he was returned. The Catholics were every where roused to action ; they were told of the degradations and wrongs their country and faith had long endured ; and their leader warned Government that " the young blood of Ireland was in a ferment." The people were encouraged by thinking that success depended on their own exertions.

In July, the law which had been directed against the Catholic Association, expired, and that body re-assembled in its original form to improve the victory obtained at the Clare election. They enumerated four pledges to be demanded of every one who should come forward as candidate for a seat in

parliament : that he should oppose the Duke of Wellington's ministry in every thing, till emancipation was conceded ; support religious and civil liberty ; procure the repeal of the sub-letting act ; and support parliamentary reform. Local clubs were next organized, which spread through the three southern provinces ; these were to be in every parish, for the purpose of registering and preparing electors, of holding monthly meetings, and generally of using every means to diffuse political information, and promoting what were called liberal principles. Each club to report once in three months to the secretary of the Association, and receive a paper for the weekly contribution of three pence. Aggregate meetings of these clubs, attended by such of the gentry and aristocracy as were favourable to the object, were held during the autumn in Leinster and Munster. Party-feuds seemed hushed for a time, at the bidding of the Association. Mr. Shiel tauntingly pointed Government "to the cloud, which charged with thunder, was hanging over their heads."

An incident occurred which seemed to indicate that Government were disposed to concession. At a public dinner at Londonderry, Mr. Dawson, a minister of the crown, and brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, the leader of the Protestant party, declared his change of sentiments ; that the question must either be settled, or the Association crushed ; that the first was inevitable, as the latter was impossible. Alarmed at this, the advocates of the high Protestant party, roused to activity, revived the Orange lodges in Ireland, and established Brunswick clubs in Dublin and Ulster. In emulation of the Catholic rent, a Protestant rent was collected. The people of Ireland seemed split into two mighty

and adverse armies. The Brunswick club spread to England, and a great Protestant meeting was held in Kent, at Pennenden Heath. All this time Ministers were necessarily inactive ; for the members of the Cabinet were irresolute and divided, and George IV. inheriting on this point his father's feelings, was extremely averse to emancipation. The Duke of Wellington, in a letter to the Marquis of Anglesea, dated the 28th of September, said, that the Catholic question was "a subject of which the king never hears or speaks, without being disturbed."

The state of matters seemed to make the adjustment of the question absolutely indispensable. Dr. Curtis, the Catholic primate of Ireland, had long cultivated an intimacy with the Duke of Wellington, which had its origin in some important services rendered to the army in Spain ; the doctor then holding a high office in the university of Salamanca. Availing himself of the footing on which he stood with the premier, he addressed him by letter on the state of the country, and the importance of settling the question. The Duke's reply was in these words :—" I assure you that you do me but justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic question, which, by benefiting the state, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not

despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy." A copy of this letter was forwarded to Mr. O'Connell and the Association, who regarded it as evincing, that the Minister was gradually becoming convinced of the necessity of concession ; and likewise to the Marquis of Anglesea, who, in his reply to Dr. Curtis, expressed it as his opinion that the Duke was only wavering—advised the adoption of such language as might further conciliate him—and, though dissuading from every appeal to physical force, exhorted that every exertion and agitation, "all constitutional (as opposed to merely legal) means" should be used, as far as was consistent with obedience to the laws. Shortly after the Marquis (who had before given displeasure to the Government) wrote this letter, he was recalled, and the Duke of Northumberland appointed in his place. "The rage of the Catholics was unbounded, as their hopes had been premature ; and the storm howled more loudly than ever."

But at last the Duke of Wellington, determined by what appeared the imminence of the danger, and surrounded on all sides with difficulties, resolved upon concession ; and having secured the consent of his colleagues, and the reluctant permission of the king, prepared to bring forward the measure. In the speech from the throne at the opening of the session of 1829, appeared the announcement of it, which took the nation by surprise, and excited all the fears of the high Protestant party, whom the vague rumours abroad for a few preceding days had not prepared for this result.—"His Majesty recommends that you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland ; and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic

subjects. You will consider whether the removal of these disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in church and state, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of the realm; and of the churches committed to their charge. These are institutions which must be held sacred in this Protestant kingdom, and which it is the duty and determination of his Majesty to preserve inviolate. His Majesty most earnestly recommends you to enter on the consideration of a subject of such paramount importance, deeply interesting to the best feelings of his people, and involving the tranquillity and concord of the united kingdom, with the temper and the moderation which will best insure the successful issue of these deliberations."

Before the consideration of the Catholic claims, Ministers took the preparatory step of bringing in a bill to put down the Association: before however the time appointed arrived, that body dissolved. The concession of the Catholic claims in the committee was decided by a majority of 348 for the motion and 160 against it. The bill was read a first time in the Lords on the 31st of March, 1829. The Duke of Wellington introduced the motion for the second reading of the bill on the 2nd of April, in a memorable speech, in which after dwelling upon the disturbed state of Ireland, which seemed even to threaten a civil war, and the impossibility of successfully putting down by force the demands of the Irish people, even were he prepared to do so, he spoke as follows:—"I am one of those who have been engaged in war beyond most men, and unfortunately principally in civil war; I must say

this, that, at any sacrifice whatever, I would avoid every approach to civil war. I would do all I could, even sacrifice my life, to prevent such a catastrophe. Nothing could be so disastrous to the country, nothing so destructive of its prosperity, as civil war; nothing could take place that tended so completely to demoralize and degrade as such a conflict, in which the hand of neighbour is raised against neighbour—that of the father against the son, and of the son against the father—of the brother against the brother—of the servant against his master—a conflict which must end in confusion and destruction. If civil war be so bad, when occasioned by resistance to government—if such a collision is to be avoided by all means possible—how much more necessary is it to avoid a civil war, in which, in order to put down one portion, it would be necessary to arm and excite the other. I am quite sure there is no man that now hears me, who would not shudder were such a proposition made to him; yet such must have been the result, had we attempted to terminate the state of things, to which I have referred, otherwise than by a measure of conciliation. In this view, then, merely, I think we are justified in the measure we have proposed to parliament.” The Duke then adverted to the checks which had been removed from other portions of the community—expressed his conviction that the measure instead of weakening, would strengthen the church—said that he gave the concession freely, without asking securities—and thus concluded: “On the whole, I entertain no doubt that, after this measure shall have passed, the Roman Catholics will cease to exist as a separate interest in the state as they at present do. I have no doubt that they will cease to excite

disunion in this or the other House of Parliament. Parliament will then, I hope, be disposed to look at their conduct, and every thing which respects that country, as they would look upon the people and the affairs of England and Scotland. I will say, however, that if I am disappointed in my hopes of tranquillity, after a trial has been given to the measure, I shall have no scruple in coming down to parliament and laying before it a state of the case, and calling for the necessary powers to enable the government to take the steps suited to the occasion. I shall do this in the same confidence that parliament will support me that I feel in the present case." The debate occupied three days, and the measure was carried by a majority of 105. On the third reading another debate took place, when 213 peers voted for it, and 109 against it. The Royal Assent was given on the 13th of April.

The biographer of the Duke of Wellington has to record with pain the sanction given at this time by his Grace to the antichristian and absurd practice of duelling. In consequence of the part taken by the premier, in bringing in the Catholic Relief Bill, the Earl of Winchilsea in a letter addressed to the secretary of the committee for establishing the King's College, London, asserted that the noble Duke, who had before determined on breaking in upon the constitution of 1638, had taken part in the establishment of that institution, that he might more effectually blind the eyes of the true supporters of Protestantism to his designs. This letter, which appeared in the public prints, drew from the noble Duke an indignant disavowal of this absurd charge. Lord Winchilsea having declined to publish an apology, a hostile meeting took place between the



parties on the 21st of March ; when Lord Winchilsea having received the duke's fire, fired in the air himself, and afterwards made a satisfactory public reparation.

The progress of the Catholic Emancipation bill, was accompanied by another for disfranchising the whole body of forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland—a measure which excited very little opposition. No other material question came before parliament that year—and it was prorogued on the 24th of June. The ceding of the Catholic claims was the last important measure of George IV's reign. The consequences of this act was momentous, both on the country and the government. Ireland was tranquillized—but only for a time. From the period of the passing of the Bill, the Duke of Wellington's ministry tottered. Disunion rent the party which had for so long a period swayed the destinies of the nation, which rising into power under the genius of Pitt, had been of late years losing its strength from the altered principles of those who professed to support it—which had braved the difficulties of a formidable war, and had seen peace restored to Europe. The high Tories stood aloof in proud and angry hostility to a government which they regarded as having betrayed the constitution ; the Whigs lent a patronising, cold, and uncertain support, watching anxiously for the period when the increasing disunion in the Tory camp might enable them to seize office. The question of Parliamentary Reform had been gaining ground—its advocates were assuming a strength which would in a short time defy resistance. By the secession of the old Tories the ministry had no longer a majority in the house ; and the only safety of government lay in the unlikelihood of these joining against it with the

Whigs. Parliamentary Reform was called for in varied forms, and from unexpected quarters ; but still its supporters were defeated by large majorities. Yet this, with the expressions of discontent evinced in various parts, shewed that the existing constitution of the House of Commons could not be much longer maintained. Things were in this state when the king expired, and William IV ascended the throne on the 26th of June, 1830.

This was the signal for renewed hostility to the cabinet from both the high Tories, who shewed no signs of relenting, and from the Whigs. The first question which gave rise to serious discussion took place upon the point, whether the parliament, after voting such supplies as were immediately necessary, should be at once dissolved, or whether provision should immediately be made for a regency in the event of the king's demise before the re-assembling of that body ; after a violent debate the ministry had only a small majority. On the 23rd July, parliament was prorogued by the king in person ; it was next day dissolved by proclamation, and writs for the election of a new one issued for the 14th of September.

A variety of circumstances were against the ministry at the elections. Their enemies attributed the disturbed state of certain districts, to their bad policy and inefficiency, and the news of the French "three days" excited the ardour and stimulated the hopes of the reformers, who held numerous meetings to congratulate the French citizens, and to accuse the government ; the members of which they broadly hinted had been in league with Polignac. By the election Ministers lost fifty votes, and Ireland was again in commotion, new associations and societies having sprung up at the dictatorship

of O'Connell. Rick-burners and rioters committed outrages in the south of England. The clamours for Reform arose more loudly than ever.

On the 2nd of November, Parliament opened. The speech from the throne merely mentioned the occurrences in France and Belgium. To this, when the address was moved in the House of Lords, Earl Grey, adverting to the notice taken of the Belgian revolution, said, "We ought to learn wisdom from what was passing before our eyes. He felt persuaded that, unless reform was granted, we must make up our minds to witness the destruction of the constitution ! He had been a reformer all his life, and at no period had he been inclined to go farther than he would be prepared to go now, if the opportunity were offered." The Duke of Wellington's reply was memorable : if at the time imprudent, it was at least frank and honest. "The noble earl has alluded to something in the shape of a parliamentary reform, but he has acknowledged that he is not prepared with any measure of reform ; and I have as little scruple to say, that his Majesty's government is as totally unprepared as the noble lord. Nay, on my own part, I will go farther and say, that I have never read, or heard of any measure up to the present moment, which could in any degree satisfy my mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or rendered more satisfactory to the country at large. \* \* \* I am fully convinced, that the country possesses at the present moment a legislature which answers all the purposes of legislation ; and this to a greater degree than any legislature ever has answered in any country whatever. \* \* \* Under these circumstances I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at

once declare, that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." After this declaration the opposition assumed a still more hostile attitude, and gave vent to more pointed and inveterate invectives. On the 15th of November, Sir H. Parnell moved "that a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the estimates and accounts presented by command of his majesty respecting the civil list." After a short debate Ministers were left in a minority of 29. Next day, the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, announced, that in consequence of the preceding evening's vote, they had resigned their administration.

Earl Grey then took office with a cabinet determined to carry through the measures of Parliamentary Reform. In the details of this question, and the discussions which took place upon it, we shall not enter: the country is now experiencing its effects: during the whole course of the debates in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington acted a prominent part in resisting this great change, which he denounced as pregnant with evil, and concluded by asking emphatically how, after it had become law, "the King's Government could be carried on?" On the 7th of May, 1832, after the bill had been read a second time in the Lords by a majority of 9, an amendment was carried by Lord Lyndhurst by a majority of 35, which the Whigs considered as unfavourable to the principles and objects of their bill. Earl Grey resigned; meetings were held, and the country kept in commotion; the public excitement increased, when it was known that the King had called upon the Duke of Wel-

lington, to assume office. The Duke felt it his duty to obey his sovereign's call ; but it was evident that if he did so, a measure of reform must be seriously considered. The task he found to be hopeless : he was neither himself convinced of the necessity or propriety of bringing forward such a sweeping plan as the supporters of the Whigs demanded, for neither he nor those who might otherwise join his ministry would sacrifice their political principles for the sake of office. Earl Grey and the Whigs were again forced upon the King.

On the 9th of June, the Duke of Wellington, having been appointed Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was installed in this high and honourable office, with more than usual magnificence. About eleven o'clock the noble Chancellor, in his robes of state, and accompanied by the heads of houses, proceeded up the High Street and by St. Mary's Church, to the Theatre.—On his arrival, he was loudly cheered by the members of the University. His Grace entered the Theatre wearing a mantle of black silk and gold fringe, as Chancellor of Oxford ; accompanied by the Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Montague, Lord Apsley, Lord Hill, Lord Mahon, Sir George Murray, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir S. Ackland, Sir Robert Inglis, and Sir Charles Wetherall. Eleven bishops were likewise present, with several distinguished female members of the nobility. The various degrees were then conferred. Dr. Phillimore, the Professor of Civil Law, alluded in a felicitous manner to the merits of the distinguished Chancellor. "Twenty years," said he, "had elapsed since he had the honour of seeing in the University a similar assemblage of noble and distinguished individuals. On that occasion he had presented to it, as honorary Doctors,

the illustrious persons who had visited the country with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Intense as his delight was upon that occasion, it wanted one circumstance to render it complete—the presence of the greatest commander of them all, our own countryman, the Duke of Wellington.” After alluding to the merits of the late Chancellor, Lord Granville, who had added lustre to the course of study adopted in the University, by pursuing the same course after he had left ; and after stating that that noble lord had found consolation in extreme old age, in those literary acquirements which had furnished him with so many triumphs, and conferred on his country so many benefits, he proceeded to observe, that, on the death of that great and good man, it became the duty of the University to select out of the noble and distinguished individuals whom it had reared in its bosom a worthy successor to that noble lord. “ Merit,” he said, “ was not of one class. There were different roads to the temple of fame, and different men must distinguish themselves in different ways. One man made his way to eminence by literature, another by arts, another by arms. Of this latter class none were more illustrious than the noble Duke, now their Chancellor. Bear witness his triumphs in India, Portugal, and Spain—his victories at Salamanca, on the Pyrenees, and at Toulouse—and above all, his liberation of Europe in the bloody field of Waterloo.” After dwelling for some time on these topics, and praising the firmness which his Grace had always evinced in the management, not only of military but of civil affairs, he concluded by affirming that the University had done itself the greatest honour, by selecting the Duke of Wellington as its Chancellor. On this occasion, honours

were conferred upon a host of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen, who had studied at Oxford ; among whom were the Dukes of Buccleugh, and of Newcastle, the Marquis of Bute, the Earls of Winchilsea, Warwick de La Warr, Rosslyn, Wiltton, Brownlow, and Falmouth, the Right Hons. Fitzroy Somerset, Granville Somerset, and Francis Egerton, Viscount Strangford and Lord Burghersh, with Sirs J. Vaughan, J. A. Park, and J. Scarlett—all of whom received the degree of Doctors of Law. Next day, the distinguished company again assembled, and on arriving at the theatre the cheering for "Wellington and Waterloo," was unbounded ; the Earl of Eldon was also very warmly greeted, and sat between the Duke of Cumberland and the Chancellor, who read the names of the noblemen and gentlemen, on whom farther degrees were to be granted, the whole forming a list, which for lofty station, valuable services to their country, to literature and the arts, was perhaps never rivalled ; among them many of the Duke of Wellington's companions in arms, together with such distinguished names as Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Mahon, Hon. H. Goulburn, J. G. Lockhart, Esq. Sir Charles Wetherall, Sir David Wilkie, Sir Astley Cooper, and many others. The installation ode was recited by the Rev. J. Keble, together with a variety of Prize Poems and Essays. The whole was, by universal consent, the most magnificent and triumphant celebration ever witnessed in Oxford.

When the Reform Bill came into operation, the party who had been the means of passing it probably expected a long and undisturbed tenure of office. At first, indeed, the Conservatives, (many of whom had dropped the name of Tories, as not conveying with sufficient clearness the great principles for

which they contended), did not muster much more than 100 members ; but their numbers were gradually increased under the skilful leadership of their chiefs, and were now nearly doubled ; they had a sweeping majority still in the House of Lords ; and the Whig cabinet had been weakened by the secession of its ablest members, Earl Grey having from age retired, and Lord Althorp, by his father's death, took his seat in the House of Lords, while the Duke of Richmond, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham, deemed it their duty no longer to hold office under them. Upon Earl Spencer's death, Lord Melbourne waited on the King to propose Lord John Russel as the ministerial leader in the House of Commons. His Majesty thought the ministry unfit to carry on the business of the country, and in particular he was averse to Lord Brougham longer remaining Chancellor ; he therefore told Lord Melbourne not to trouble himself with the proposed official arrangements, because he intended to send for the Duke of Wellington, to whom a letter was immediately transmitted. Next day the Duke waited on his Majesty, and advised him to entrust the government to Sir Robert Peel ; and, as Sir Robert with his Lady, had left England in the month of October, to spend the winter in Italy, he generously and nobly offered to carry on the public business till his return. This course was adopted ; and as a temporary arrangement, His Grace was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and swore in a principal Secretary, of State. On the 21st of November, Lord Lyndhurst received the Great Seal, and took the oaths as Lord Chancellor. Soon after, Sir Robert Peel returned, had an audience of the King, and accepted the premiership. Overtures were made to Lord Stanley and



Sir J. Graham, to take office, but they declined, though favourable to the administration, to pledge themselves so far. All official arrangements were completed by the end of November. The composition of the ministry resembled much that of the Wellington cabinet, in its details. The Duke of Wellington was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Sir Robert Peel First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The principles on which Ministers proposed to act, were explained in a clear and able address of Sir Robert Peel to his constituents at Tamworth. On the 30th of December, Parliament was dissolved, and a new one convoked for the 19th of February, 1835.

The issue of this attempt is well known. The Whigs and Radicals united together against the Conservatives, who, in spite of most strenuous exertions mustered little more than 300, but though they had not a majority, this was sufficient to show their growing strength in the country. The Conservatives, if their addresses and professions meant any thing, intended rational reform ; the Liberals declared that the measures of reform demanded by the advancement of society, could not be expected from them. Sir Robert Peel, and his ministry, demanded only a fair trial, and leisure to bring forward those plans of rational improvement, which were consistent with the constitution. But the opposition refused to give them time to ingratiate themselves with the country, and resolved to try their strength upon the appointment of the Speaker, nominating Mr. Abercrombie, in opposition to Mr. Manners Sutton, who had held the office, with the approbation of all parties, for many years ; in a House of 626 members, the Whig candidate was elected, by a majority of ten. Next came the de-

bate on the address, to which an amendment was moved in both Houses, and carried in the Commons. In the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington took the opportunity of vindicating his procedure in assuming the reins of affairs at his sovereign's command, till Sir Robert Peel should arrive : he proved that he acted in accordance with the constitution, and with the view of promoting the best interests of the country—that no inconvenience had arisen from this passing arrangement—that he had carried on only those functions of government which were absolutely necessary—that the late administration had become so shattered, as to render the formation of another, of more trust-worthy materials necessary—that he was bound to render those services at his sovereign's call—he only desired that Parliament would give them time to bring forward their measures, when they could judge of the sincerity of their professions by their practice. In the lower House, Sir Robert Peel declared that he would not give up what he thought the post of duty, till he had time to justify himself to the country, by bringing forward some of the intentions of Government ; and concluded an able and forcible speech developing the plans of the administration in these words :

“ Under these circumstances, I feel it to be my first and paramount duty to stand by those trusts which have been confided to me, and to call upon the House to wait, until it sees the motions which the government is about to propose. I offer to you measures of reform, ecclesiastical and civil. I offer you the settlement of the tithe question in England—the commutation of tithes in England and Wales. I offer you reform of all proved abuses, in the Church. I offer you the redress of the grievances complained of by the Dissenters, as far as they re-

late to marriage and other important points. I offer you the prospect of continued peace. You may disregard my offers, and take those of others ; but mine would have this advantage—that they would be more likely to be successful, and that I could act, I hope successfully, as the mediator and restorer of harmony between the two Houses. You may form other alliances, or connect yourselves with different extremes of parties ; but the time will come when popular excitement will abate, and when you will have nothing left but to lean for support on those who have gone on calmly and quietly—when, in short, you will have no alternative but to leave the government in our hands, or to resort to measures of coercive violence, which will render reform inefficient, and seal the fate of the British constitution.”

The opposition, who wanted courage to move a direct vote of want of confidence, at last drove the ministry from office, by moving an amendment, establishing the principle of the appropriation of the revenues of the Irish Church to secular purposes ; in a House of 611 members, 322 voted in favour of it, and 289 against it ; in committee Ministers being left in a minority of 25, and again of 27, resigned, and the Melbourne ministry was re-formed.

Since that period, until July, 1841, the Duke remained in opposition. At that time he was again called upon to take a part in the direction of the affairs of this nation. During the latter part of the Melbourne Administration, it appeared evident that the Whigs were becoming very unpopular throughout the country, as well as in the Houses of Parliament. For some time before they ceased to hold office, they had sustained many humiliating defeats on the various measures which they brought

before Parliament ; yet they still clung to office, till, in May last, having proposed measures which the opposition did not approve of to remedy a decreasing revenue, they were again in a minority, and Lord Melbourne tendered his resignation to the Queen. Her Majesty then sent for the Conservative leaders, and offered them the seals of office ; but the terms proposed by Sir Robert Peel, not being acquiesced in by the Queen, the Whigs were recalled, and Lord Melbourne reinstated in office. But all their efforts were unavailing to carry the measures which they proposed ; and though the Whigs were in office, yet the Tories virtually were the rulers. At last, Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons proposed a vote of want of confidence in her Majesty's Ministers, which was carried by a small majority ; and it was generally expected that Ministers would instantly resign. They, however, resolved to dissolve Parliament, and try a new House of Commons, which they accordingly did ; but the remedy was worse than the disease : for the Conservatives gained a great accession of strength by the elections ; and when the new Parliament assembled, it was evident who were to be the ministry. The first public measure which Ministers brought forward was defeated by an overwhelming majority, and Lord Melbourne and his colleagues were compelled to resign. In the month of July, 1841, the Queen sent for Sir Robert Peel, and entrusted to him the formation of a new administration, which he effected ; himself being premier, the Duke of Wellington leader in the House of Lords, with a seat in the Cabinet, but not holding any distinct office ; the other offices being held by the leading Conservatives of the day. The Duke's mental powers are

as vigorous as ever, and of late his speeches in the House of Lords, (always excellent, from the clearness and straight-forward character of his views), have possessed a peculiar degree of animation and force. Any degree of unpopularity which his staunch and able advocacy of the principles which he holds, may have created in the minds of those who differ from him, has long since passed away ; while those who agree with him, regard him with a peculiar degree of esteem and veneration ; liberal-minded men of all parties look up to him with that respect which talent and worth command towards one whose public life has been an unbroken course of consistency and excellence.

One other incident in connection with the life of the Duke of Wellington which we have to notice, is the banquet given by the Cinque Ports, at Dover, on the 30th of August last, when many distinguished individuals of all parties, assembled to do him honour. We shall quote at the conclusion of this biographical sketch, the splendid panegyrical oration of Lord Brougham, on proposing the health of the illustrious guest—a speech on which no higher encomium can be passed than to say that its whole tone, and the eloquence and felicity of its allusions, were worthy of the subject.

We are quite aware of the difficulties which present themselves in attempting to form an estimate of the character of the illustrious individual whose career we have endeavoured briefly to delineate ; and the portraiture must necessarily be imperfect, as we want those minute touches and incidents of private and domestic life, the relation of which constitutes the distinction between historic annals and biography. So far as an estimate can yet be formed, the record of his life is perhaps suffi-

ent ; and the reader cannot fail to have remarked some striking characteristics. As he follows Wellington's successful career he must have observed one born for eminence,—endowed with those rare qualities of head and heart which are fit for the highest and most responsible stations. for assuming and maintaining deserved superiority over others, and directing vast and complicated movements, by the clear forethought of a vigorous mind.

The first remark that may be made in contemplating Wellington's character, is, that we have not presented to our notice so much, one or more peculiar and prominent features, as the great harmony of all. Cæsar has been called by Lord Bacon the most perfect character of all antiquity, by the union of military and civil genius : the character of Wellington bears much more resemblance to his than that of Napoleon ; for the undoubtedly high qualities possessed by the French conqueror, were debased by alloys from which Wellington is entirely free ; we see in the latter, no striving after *effect*, but the understanding, clear and serene, unblinded by success ; absolutely unassailable by the clouds of incense and adulation, which so affected Napoleon as to create the wonder and even pity of those around him ; none of that childish superstition, whether natural or assumed, concerning the force of destiny, and the influence of a name, as of a star which had arisen in majesty upon the nations ; no vanity, but the totally opposite qualities of providing against the most remote contingencies, of that caution which is the earnest of success, of the improvement of every favourable, and the reparation of every adverse circumstance. We should commit a grievous error did we narrow our view to consider him as a merely soldier and conqueror—or

exercise—or rather *indulge* his more splendid qualities of promptitude, decision, and valour; the whole so adorned by simplicity, generosity, justice, and good-nature, that we feel disposed to say of his character,

—————“*quae si propius stes,  
Te capiet magis.*”\*

To say that his honour has been ever clear and untarnished, is to say nothing, were it not that the character of many other heroes of ancient and modern times, has been debased and sullied by follies and vices; and that in pursuing greatness they have neglected to have respect also to goodness. And his achievements strike us as still more remarkable, when contrasted with the many most serious difficulties which he had to meet, and the unexampled disadvantages to which he rose superior: he described this when he said in 1812, “*Serving three of the weakest Cabinets in Europe, I have to contend with the most powerful Government in the world.*” And besides conducting his armies from victory to victory, what other mighty interests had he to decide! Let one who is no flatterer of great men tell. “The succession to thrones, the rights, or supposed rights, of monarchs; the construction of treaties; the composition of constitutions, when

\* “If you only read one portion of these letters, you might fancy the writer to have been bred in a merchants’ counting-house; if another, you would say he was a *commissaire de guerre*, or a professed diplomatist, a financier or a jurist, or that he had travelled all the world over to collect historical and geographical knowledge; he is the able counsellor of his equals; the honest adviser of his superiors; the merciful chastiser of the erring, the warm friend of the brave, and the best practical politician and moralist of his time; he is throughout the true lover of his country, and if there is one quality more prominent than the rest, it is his inimitable singleness of heart and soul.”

theory was at variance with practice, when liberty was invoked by men who knew nothing of it but the name, and whose actions, guided entirely by their passions, were equally violent, arbitrary, and unjust. The rights and powers of colonies, the principles of colonial policy, the principles of commerce, the principles of banking, the collection of revenue, the abuses of office, the powers and duties of magistrates, the distribution of charity, the reviving of agriculture, military, maritime, and international law, and even civil and criminal law!! Upon all these points important questions were continually pressed upon his attention, and with what a perspicacity and strength of reason he treated them; with what an earnest honesty of purpose and principle, he decided them, his Despatches tell.\*

Such are our impressions on contemplating the career of the Duke of Wellington. He is throughout great and consistent, while leading others on to success, never (which is a hard task as the annals of history tell) losing command of himself. He is altogether complete: no chink appears in the panoply of the mailed warrior. His has been a sustained career of success, the product of the weighed and measured exercise of all his great powers: combining what in Napoleon's view, was enough to form a great general, even when the individual qualities were not, as here, of the highest standard—daring never too much—restrained by prudence, caution never unduly damping his ardour. His course does not resemble the blazing track of a meteor, so much as the regularity, and steady growing brilliancy of a planetary movement, at length, in brightness and in majesty, “flaming on the forehead of the sky.”

\* Major Napier.—*London and Westminster Review*, Vol. VI



Alike proof against the evils of success and defeat, he has gone on in triumph

"Ad inme

Qualls ab incepto pro cesserit, et sibi constat."

The following is a report of Lord Brougham's speech on the occasion to which we have alluded. "I rise to perform the duty which has been cast upon me, and to enjoy the honour I feel my fellow-citizens have bestowed upon me; and, although I am aware that on such an occasion as that of this day's solemnity, no man has a right to retain any personal feelings on his own behalf, but that all private and selfish and individual considerations are necessarily involved in the celebration of this great day, and in honour of this great man—yet, I feel, that, called upon as I have been, and standing to perform this grateful and honourable duty, it would be affectation—it would be ingratitude—it would be insolent ingratitude—if I were not to express the feelings which glow within my bosom, at being made the humble instrument of expressing those feelings which reign predominant in yours. It is these feelings that bear me up against all the difficulties of the position in which your choice has placed me. Enough for my own feelings;—now for my mighty subject. Yet the choice you have made of your instrument and organ as it were on this occasion, is not unconnected with that subject; for it shows that, on this day, all personal, all political feelings are quelled; all strife of party is hushed, and that we are incapable, whatever our opinions may be, of refusing to acknowledge transcendent merits, and denying that we feel the irresistible influence of unbounded gratitude. And I therefore have been asked to do this service, as if to shew that no difference on subjects, however important—no long



course of opposition, however contrasted on public principle—no political hostility (for no other than political ever could be felt)—not even long inveterate habits of public opposition—are able so far to pervert the nature, so far to stifle the natural feelings of our hearts, so far to obscure our reason, as to prevent us from feeling as we ought, boundless gratitude for boundless merits—to pluck from our minds an admiration proportioned to such transcendent genius in peace and war, of him who is our guest; or to lighten and alleviate that painful feeling, that deep sense which the mind never can get rid of when it is overwhelmed by a load of gratitude—a debt too boundless to be repaid. Party—the spirit of party—may do much, but it cannot so far bewilder the memory, and pervert the judgment, and quench and stifle the warmth of the natural affections, and eradicate from our bosoms those feelings which do us most honour and are the most unavoidable, and as it were, dry up the kindly juices of the heart, and with its fell malignant influence on other occasions,—it cannot so far dry up those juices as to parch it like the very charcoal, and render it almost as black. What else have I to do if I had all the eloquence of all the tongues that ever were attuned to speak? what else can I do, and how could a thousand words, and all the names that can be named, or even the tongue of an angel speak so powerfully, as that very one word, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington,—the hero of a hundred fields, in all of which his banner has waved in triumph;—who never—I invoke both hemispheres—bear witness Europe, bear witness Asia—who never advanced but to cover his arms with glory—mighty captain, who never advanced but to be victorious—mightier captain, who never

retreated but to eclipse the glories of his advance—performing the yet harder task of unwearied patience, of indomitable fortitude, of exhaustless resources, of transcendent skill—the wonders, the miracles of moral courage never yet subdued—despising all that thwarted him with ill-considered advice—neglecting all hostility, so he knew it to be groundless—leaving to scorn reviling enemies, jealous competitors, lukewarm friends—ay, hardest of all, to neglect—despising even a fickle public—casting his eye forward, as a man ought, else he deserves not to command men—casting his eye forward to the time when that momentary fickleness of the people would pass away ; well knowing that in the end the people is always just to merit. No doubt, men are apt to be misled by the loud voice of fame, and to confound together the landmarks that separate the departments of human merit ; often they may be taken in with the tinsel and the glitter, rather than attend to the die which guarantees the purity of the coin, and the weight which is the test of its value. Oftentimes you hear them praise, justly no doubt, martial deeds of high emprise ; and devoting their admiration and lavishing their applause on the conqueror's success on a well-foughten field ; but if Salamanca, and if Talavera, and if Vimiera, and if the Douro and Assaye, and Toulouse, and Waterloo—if these dazzle upon the medallion which attempts, and vainly attempts, to perpetuate his fame, sober-minded and reflecting men will pause ere they hold that these are the greatest achievements of his life. The reflecting mind will look back, and will point the admiring look to a contemplation of Torres Vedras, the well and long-sustained lines, and retreats, and battles, and victories gained in adverse circumstances, such

as the splendid achievements of Busaco. All reflection teaches us that that is the very test of genius which shews its resources to be of inexhaustible fertility in difficulties—which shows its movements to be nimble and swift as lightning, altering with varying circumstances—which shows a firmness, an almost superhuman firmness,—to keep by its own counsel, and look forward to the success it knows and feels it has earned. But that is a moral courage of a higher nature than any that is known or comprehensible by the vulgar brain. To whom are we to compare this warrior—this great statesman?—who has surpassed Marlborough in the field—who has surpassed Temple in negotiation—who stands worthy to be ranked as a statesman, and higher praise there is none—worthy to be ranked with the illustrious head of his noble house—the greatest statesman of the age he adorns—when I said I had but to pronounce a single name, and my task was done, much more may it be asked why having enlarged a little farther on this fruitful topic—this topic of inexhaustible fertility—why I still persevere and go on? Oh! there is a pleasing satisfaction in reflecting upon all his great merits; and it is because I feel, that at this moment, but one individual of the vast, the countless multitude I am addressing, to whom it is not grateful, that I persist in these observations.—I willingly run the risk, or rather encounter the certainty of giving that one individual uneasiness, than avoid going on when I know that all desire to linger a little longer in dwelling on so marvellous a history. Shall I then go back to former ages, and ask if there be any comparison of his victories with those of Cæsar—who, if he equalled him in any, surpassed him in but one particular, and that the

worthless accomplishment of practised oratory ; he, our guest, being also in his own person, as I by long experience and observation can attest, among our most powerful, most efficient, and most successful debaters ! Julius Cæsar led the disciplined and accomplished armies of Rome, through the almost unresisting medium of savages, without knowledge, without discipline, without rule, without art—ill-commanded and worse equipped. He led his Roman legions through them almost as a boat cuts through the wave, or an eagle cleaves the air ; and it was only after he had brought them back in triumph, and inured them to war by many campaigns, that for the first time he met a disciplined force, but under a warrior exhausted by years ; and crossed that river, which all the confidence of all the armies in the world would never have tempted our illustrious Chief ever to let a thought cross his mind that he should ever dream of crossing it—I mean that Rubicon which separates the obedient, the peaceful, loyal citizen from the traitor to his country and the usurper. Shall the comparison be made or hinted at, only in order instantly to be dismissed, with the greatest of all the Captains of antiquity—I mean the Carthaginian leader ! But his consummate talents were debased, and their extraordinary growth was stunted and stifled by an undergrowth of the most abominable vices that can debase or deprave humanity. Or shall it be to the modern Chief—the greatest next to him of modern warriors ! But he, Napoleon, commanded, and did not conflict with the armies of France ; he commanded, but did not meet in battle his own disciplined Marshals ; but our Chief, after defeating all those Marshals, one after another, ended his glorious career by overthrowing that chief himself. But

it is true—it is a more striking truth, and it is more useful to all public purposes, to contemplate, that I should recollect the other, the vaster differences which separate the chiefs of ancient days, and of other countries, by an impassable gulf from ours ; they were conquerors inflamed with the thirst of ambition ; they spilt rivers of blood to attain their guilty end ; they were tyrants, and nothing could satiate their ambition at home, but the slavery of their fellow-creatures, as nothing could satiate it abroad, but the deluge they poured out, of their blood. Our Chief has never drawn the sword but in that defensive war, which alone of all warfare is not a great crime. He has never drawn his sword against the liberty of any people, but he has constantly unsheathed it, and blessed be God, he has triumphantly unsheathed it, to secure the liberty of all. The servant of his Prince to command his troops, but the soldier and defender of his country ; the enemy of her enemies, be they foreign or domestic, but the fast friend of the rights of his fellow-subjects, and the champion of their lawful Constitution. The tempest which resounded all over the world, is now, thanks to him, hushed ; the shock which made the thrones of Europe to quake, and the horns of the altar themselves to tremble, has now, thanks to him, expended its force. We may, thanks to him, expect to pass the residue of our days without that turmoil of war in which our youth was brought up ; but if ever the materials of some fell explosion should once more be collected by human wickedness, in any quarter of the globe—if the hushed tempest should again break loose from its cave—if the shock which is felt not now, should once more make our institutions to quiver, happy this nation that knows to what wise counsels to look.

Happy the Sovereign that has at command, the right arm which has carried in triumph the English standard all over the globe—happy the people who may yet again confide, not their liberties indeed, for that is a trust which he would spurn from him with indignation—but who would confide in his matchless valour for their safety against all the perils which Providence may have in store for them. You of the Cinque Ports stand at the advanced post of danger ; if that danger should ever approach, through your lines the enemy that would dare to defile our shores, must pierce ; and over your bodies I know he will walk should he pursue his career towards the heart of the realm. But upon whom have we placed the command, and who is he whom we oppose face to face to the peril ? As some gallant ship which is destined to convey the thunders of England against any hostile power, has planted on her prow the image of a Nelson, or a Jervis, but only, as they have been taken from us, to remind their descendants of their great feats in arms, to stimulate them to exertion, whereby those deeds may be emulated, so have you not the lifeless image, but the living warrior—the conqueror of a hundred fields—planted on the outermost point of the island—on the advanced posts—in face and front of all enemies—to command you, encourage his country, to make his Sovereign secure, to make the independence of England perpetual, and to hurl as great dismay among all ranks of the land-troops as the cannon and the might of Nelson and Jervis hurled defiance and destruction among the fleets of our enemies. Then would be seen—what God forbid I should ever live to witness the necessity of, or feel the occasion for—Wellington coming forth a veteran warrior, to add one bright page more to the history of his imperishable renown.”

## APPENDIX.

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### I.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF ASSAYE.

"THE information which we obtain regarding the position of an enemy whom we intend to attack is in general very imperfect. We cannot send out natives in the Company's service, who, from long habit, might be able to give an accurate account, because they, being inhabitants of the Carnatic, or Mysore, are as well known in this part of the country as if they were Europeans; and we cannot view their positions ourselves, till we can bring up the main body of our armies, because the enemy are always surrounded by immense bodies of horse. The consequence is, that we are obliged to employ as hircarrahs the natives of the country, and to trust to their reports. All the hircarrahs reported that the enemy's camp, which I had concerted with Colonel Stevenson to attack, was at Bokerdun. I was to attack their left, where I knew the infantry was posted; and Colonel Stevenson their right. Their camp, however, instead of being at Bokerdun, had its right to that village, and extended above six miles to Assaye, where was its left; it was all in the district of Bokerdun, which was the cause of the mistake.



"My march on the 23rd was so directed that I should be within twelve or fourteen miles of the enemy's camp on that day, which I supposed to be at Bokerdun. Instead of that, by the extension of their line to the eastward, I found myself within six miles of them. I here received intelligence that they were going off ; at all events, whether they were about to go or stay, I must have reconnoitred. I could not have reconnoitred without taking the whole of my small force ; and when I got near them, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to retire in front of their numerous cavalry. But I determined to attack them, as I really believed the intelligence I received at Naulniah to be true. When I found the intelligence I received at Naulniah was false, that I had their whole army in my front, and that they had a most formidable position, three or four times my number of infantry only, and a vast quantity of cannon, I deliberated whether I should withdraw, and attack on the following morning according to the plan. The consequence of my withdrawing would have been, that I should have been followed to Naulniah by their cavalry, and possibly should have found it difficult to get there. They would have harassed me all that day ; and as I had only ground fortified by myself to secure my baggage in, it was ten to one whether I should not have lost a part of it during the attack on the following morning ; and at all events, I should have been obliged to leave more than one battalion to secure it. During the attack on the 23rd the enemy did not know where the baggage was ; and, although it was so close to them, they never went near it. Besides this, on the other hand, there was a chance, indeed a certainty, that the enemy would hear that Colonel

Stevenson also would move upon them on the 24th, and that they would withdraw their infantry and guns in the night. I therefore determined to make the attack.

"The plan concerted, you will observe, failed, from the deficiency of our information concerning the enemy's position, and consequently, my coming too near them on the 23rd, with my camp, baggage, &c. &c.

"The enemy's first position was as shown in the plan. The Kaitna is a river with steep banks, impassable for carriages everywhere, excepting at Pepulgaon and Warsor. I determined, from the ground on which the cavalry was first formed, to attack the enemy's left flank and rear, and to cross the river at Pepulgaon. I determined at that time to throw my right up to Assaye.

"For a length of time they did not see my infantry, or discover my design. When they did, they altered their position, and threw their left up to Assaye, and formed across the ground between the Kaitna and Assaye; but in more than one line. Luckily they did not occupy the ford at Pepulgaon: if they had, I must have gone lower down; and possibly I should have been obliged to make a road across the river, which would have taken so much time, that I should not have had day enough for the attack. When I saw that they had got their left to Assaye, I altered my plan, and determined to manœuvre by my left, and push the enemy upon the Nullah, knowing that the village of Assaye must fall when the right should be beat. Orders were accordingly given. However, by one of those unlucky accidents which frequently happen, the officer commanding the picquets, which were upon the right, led immediately up to the village of As-

saye ; the 74th regiment, which was on the right of the second line, and was ordered to support the picquets, followed them. There was a large break in our line between those corps and those on the left. They were exposed to a most terrible cannonade from Assaye, and were charged by the cavalry belonging to the Campoos ; consequently, in the picquets and the 74th regiment we sustained the greatest part of our loss. One company of the picquets, of one officer and fifty rank and file, lost one officer and forty-four rank and file. This company belonged to the battalion left at Naulmah. Another bad consequence resulting from this mistake was, the necessity of introducing the cavalry into the action at too early a period. I had ordered it to watch the motions of the enemy's cavalry hanging upon our right ; and luckily, it charged in time to save the remains of the 74th and the picquets. It was thus brought into the cannonade ; men and horses were lost ; it charged amongst broken infantry, and separated ; the unity of the body was lost, and it was no longer possible to use it, as I intended when I placed it in the third line, to pursue and cut up the defeated and broken enemy, and thus make the victory still more complete than it was. As I had foreseen, the corps at Assaye was not defeated till worked on by the centre and left of our line, notwithstanding the movements of the picquets, the 74th, and the cavalry ; and then it went off directly, and was cut up.—N. B. The Juah river, or Nullah, has steep banks, impassable for carriages, scarcely passable for horses."

\* \* \* \* \*

*(From the public Despatch.)*

"The enemy's cavalry made an attempt to charge the 74th regiment at the moment when they were exposed to their cannonade, but they were cut up by the British cavalry, which moved on at that moment. At length the enemy's line gave way in all directions, and some of the British cavalry cut in among their broken infantry; but some of the corps went off in good order, and a fire was kept upon our troops, from many of the guns from which the enemy had been driven, by individuals who had been passed by the line under the supposition that they were dead. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, charged one large body of infantry, which had retired and was formed again, in which operation he was killed; and some time elapsed before they could put an end to the straggling fire which was kept up by individuals from the guns from which the enemy had been driven. The enemy's cavalry also, which had been hovering round us throughout the action, were still near us. At length, when the last formed body of infantry gave way, the whole went off, and left in our hands ninety pieces of cannon."

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## II.

THE GENERAL OFFICERS WHO LANDED WITH THE TROOPS  
AT THE MONDEGO, TO LIEUT.-GEN. THE HON. SIR A.  
WELLESLEY, K.B.

Camp at St. Antonio de Tojal,  
3rd September, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,—Anxious to manifest the high esteem and respect we bear towards you, and the satisfaction we must ever feel in having the good fortune to serve under your

command, we have this day directed a piece of plate, value 1000 guineas,\* to be prepared and presented to you.

The enclosed inscription, which we have ordered to be engraven on it, expresses our feelings on this occasion.

We have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed)

B. SPENCER, Major-Gen.  
R. HILL, Major-Gen.  
R. FERGUSON, Major-Gen.  
N. NIGHTINGALL, Brig.-Gen.  
B. F. BOWES, Brig.-Gen.  
H. FANE, Brig.-Gen.  
J. C. CRAWFORD, Brig.-Gen.

Lieut.-General the Hon. }  
Sir A. Wellesley, K.B. }

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR A. WELLESLEY, K.B.,  
TO THE BEFORE-MENTIONED GENERAL OFFICERS.

Zambujal, 3rd Sept., 1808.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour of receiving your letter of this day, and I assure you that it is a source of great gratification to me, to find that my conduct in the command, with which I was lately intrusted by his Majesty, has given you satisfaction.

As my efforts were directed to forward the service in which we were employed, I could not fail to receive your support and assistance; and to the cordial and friendly support and assistance which I invariably received from you collectively and individually, I attribute the success of our endeavours to bring the army into the state in which it was formed to meet the enemy on the days on which the gallantry of the officers and soldiers was stimulated by your example, and their discipline aided and directed by your experience and ability.

Under these circumstances my task has been comparatively light; and I imagine that its difficulty has been over-

\* This piece of plate was afterwards augmented in value by the additional subscriptions of Generals Anstruther and Acland, and the Field Officers of the army who served under the orders of Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, at the battle of Vimiero.

INSCRIPTION.—“From the General Officers serving in the British army, originally landed at Figueira, in Portugal, in the year 1808, to Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B., &c. &c., their commander.—Major-General Spencer, second in command, Major-Generals Hill and Ferguson, Brig.-Generals Nightingall, Bowes, Fane, and Crawford, offer this gift to their leader, in testimony of the high respect and esteem they feel for him as a man, and the unbounded confidence they place in him as an officer.”

rated by partiality: but I have a pride in the reflection that as I should not deserve so I should not possess your regard if I had not done my duty; and with those sentiments, and those of respect and affection for you all, I accept of that testimony of your esteem and confidence which you have been pleased to present to me.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Major-Generals Spencer, Hill, and  
Ferguson.  
Brig.-Generals Nighingall, Bowes,  
Fane, and Crawford.

### III.

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR A. WELLESLEY, K.B., TO  
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE, K.B.

Lumlar, 17th September, 1808.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I write to you on the subject to which this letter relates, with the same freedom with which I hope you would write to me on any point in which you might think the public interests concerned.

It appears to me to be quite impossible that we can go on as we are now constituted; the Commander-in-chief must be changed, and the country and the army naturally turn their eyes to you as their commander. I understand, however, that you have lately had some unpleasant discussions with the King's ministers, the effect of which might be to prevent the adoption of an arrangement for the command of this army, which, in my opinion would be best, and would enable you to render those services at this moment for which you are peculiarly qualified.

I wish you would allow me to talk to you respecting the discussions to which I have adverted, in order that I may endeavour to remove any trace which they may have left on the minds of the King's ministers, having the effect which I have supposed.

Although I hold a high office under Government, I am no party man; but have been long connected in friendship with many of those persons who are now at the head of affairs in England; and I think I have sufficient influence over them, that they may listen to me upon a point of this description, more particularly as I am convinced that they must be as

desirous as I can be, to adopt the arrangement for the command of this army, which all are agreed is the best.

In these times, my dear General, a man like you should not preclude himself from rendering the services of which he is capable by any idle point of form. Circumstances may have occurred, and might have justified the discussions to which I have referred; but none can justify the continuance of the temper in which they are carried on: and yet there is evidence that till it is changed, it appears to be impossible for the King's ministers to employ you in the high station for which you are the most fit, because during the continuance of this temper of mind there can be no cordial or confidential intercourse.

In writing this much I have perhaps gone too far, and have taken the permission for which it was the intention of this letter to ask; but I shall send it, as it may be convenient for you to be apprised of the view which I have already taken of these discussions, as far as I have any knowledge of them, in deciding whether you will allow me to talk to you any farther about them. If you should do so, it would probably be most convenient to us both, to meet at Lisbon, or I can go over to you, if that should suit you better.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Lieut.-General Sir John Moore, K.B.

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#### IV.

The House of Lords passed the following resolutions, which were communicated to Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley:

House of Lords, 28th January, 1809.

Resolved, *Nem. dissent*.—That the Thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. Lieut.-General Sir A. Wellesley, K.B., for the distinguished valour, ability, and conduct displayed by him on the 17th and 21st of August last, in Portugal; in the latter of which days he obtained at Vimieiro, over the army of the enemy, a signal victory, honourable and glorious to the British arms.

Resolved, *Nem. dissent*.—That the Thanks of this House be given to Major-General Spencer, Major-General Hill,

Major-General Ferguson, Brigadier-General Acland, Brigadier-General Nightingall, Brigadier-General Fane, and Brigadier-General Bowes, and the several officers of the army, for their skill and gallant exertions against the enemy, in the battles of Roliça and Vimieiro; by which they reflected so much lustre on His Majesty's arms.

Resolved, *Nem. dissent*.—That this House doth highly approve of, and acknowledge, the steady and disciplined valour displayed by the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of the army, on the above occasion, and that the same be signified by the commanders of the several corps, who are desired to thank them for their distinguished and exemplary conduct.

To these resolutions, conveyed to him by the Lord Chancellor, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, wrote the following answer :

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR A. WELLESLEY, K.B., TO THE  
RIGHT HON. THE LORD CHANCELLOR, &c.

London, 28th January, 1809.

MY LORD,—I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of the 24th instant, containing copies of the unanimous resolutions of the House of Lords, conveying the approbation of their lordships of my conduct and that of the general and other officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers composing the army which I commanded in Portugal, and their lordships' desire that I should communicate their lordships' vote to the respective general officers, and to the officers commanding the corps employed in the service of that country.

I have received the mark of distinction which the House of Lords have conferred upon me, with sentiments of gratitude and respect proportionate to the high sense I entertain of the greatness of the honour which it carries with it; and I shall have great pleasure in communicating to the officers and the troops the distinguished reward of their exemplary conduct, which their lordships have conferred to me on the commands of the House.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

The Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor.



Sir Arthur Wellesley, on his return from Portugal after the battle of Vimieiro, resumed the duties of his office, as Chief Secretary for Ireland ; and the Court of Inquiry held at Chelsea having concluded, he proceeded in the month of December to Dublin.

Parliament having re-assembled in January, 1809, he returned to London, to attend the House of Commons, and on the 27th of January, when in his place, he received the Thanks of the House for his conduct at the battle of Vimieiro, by the Speaker, in the following terms :—

“Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley,—After the events of last year, it was impossible that Parliament should re-assemble, without directing its earliest attention to the services of the British army in Portugal ; and amidst the contending opinions which have prevailed upon other questions, the public voice has been loud and general in admiration of your splendid achievements.

“It is your praise to have inspired your troops with unshaken confidence and unbounded ardour ; to have commanded, not the obedience alone, but the hearts and affections of your companions in arms : and having planned your operations with the skill and promptitude which have so eminently characterised all your former exertions, you have again led the armies of your country to battle with the same deliberate valour and triumphant success which have long since rendered your name illustrious in the remotest parts of this empire.

“Military glory has ever been dear to this nation, and great military exploits in the field, and upon the ocean, have their sure reward in royal favour and the gratitude of Parliament. It is therefore with the highest satisfaction, that in this fresh

instance, I now proceed to deliver to you the thanks of this House ; and I do now accordingly, by the command and in the name of the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, thank you for the distinguished valour, ability, and conduct displayed by you on the 17th and 21st of August last in Portugal ; on the latter of which days you obtained at Vimieiro, over the army of the enemy, a signal victory, honourable and glorious to the British arms."

Sir Arthur Wellesley rose, and made the following answer :—

"Mr. Speaker,—I beg leave to express my acknowledgments to the House, for the high honour which they have conferred upon me ; a distinction which it is in the power of the representatives of a free people alone to bestow, and which it is the peculiar advantage of the officers and soldiers in the service of His Majesty to have held out to them as the object of their ambition, and to receive as the reward of their services.

"I beg leave to return you, Sir, my thanks for the handsome terms in which your kindness, I ought to say your partiality, for me, has induced you to convey the approbation of the House.

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## V.

### MEMORANDUM UPON THE BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

The position was well calculated for the troops which were to occupy it. The ground in front of the British army was open, that in front of the Spanish army covered with olive trees, intersected by roads, ditches, &c. The Spanish infantry was posted behind the bank of the road leading from Talavera to the left of the position.

The German Legion were on the left position in the first line. I had intended this part for the Guards; but I was unfortunately out, employed in bringing in General Mackenzie's advanced guard, when the troops took up their ground. The 5th and 7th battalions of the Legion, did not stand their ground on the evening, and in the beginning of the night of the 27th, which was the cause of the momentary loss of the height in the second line.

General Sherbrooke moved his division, which was the left of the first line, to support General Hill's attack, in order to regain the height; and it was difficult to resume in the night the next position which had been first marked out; and in fact, on account of these circumstances, we had not that precise position till after the enemy's attack upon the height at daylight in the morning had been repulsed.

The advance of the Guards to the extent to which it was carried, was nearly fatal to us, and the battle was certainly saved by the advance, position, and steady conduct of the 48th regiment, upon which General Sherbrooke's division formed again.

The ground in front of the Spanish troops would not have been unfavourable to an attack upon the enemy's flank while they were engaged with us, as there were broad roads leading from Talavera and different points of their position, on a direct line in front, as well as diagonally to the left. But the Spanish troops are not in a state of discipline to attempt a manœuvre in olive grounds, &c. and if they had got into confusion, all would have been lost."

July, 1809.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

## VI.

TO CAPTAIN-GENERAL DON GREGORIO CUESTA,

Deleytosa, 11th August, 1809.

SIR,—I have the honour of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 10th instant, and I am concerned that you should complain of the conduct of the British troops; but when troops are starving, which those under my command have been, as I have repeatedly told your Excellency since I joined you on the 22nd of last month; and particularly, had no bread whatever from the 3rd to the 8th instant, it is not astonishing that they should go to the villages, and even to the mountains, and look for food where they think they can get it.

The complaints of the inhabitants, however, should not have been confined to the conduct of the British troops: in this very village, I have seen the Spanish soldiers, who ought to have been elsewhere, take the doors off the houses which were locked up, in order that they might plunder the houses, and they afterwards burnt the doors.

I absolutely and positively deny the assertion, that any thing going to the Spanish army has been stopped by the British troops or commissaries.

On the 7th, when the British troops were starving in the hills, I met a convoy of 350 mules, loaded with provisions for the Spanish army. I would not allow one of them to be touched, and they all passed on. General Sherbrooke, on the following day, the 8th, gave a written order to another convoy, addressed to all British officers, to allow them to pass through unmolested. Yesterday I met on the road, and passed not less than 500 mules loaded with provisions for the Spanish army; and no later than yesterday evening, Major Campbell my aide-de-camp, gave an order to another large convoy, addressed to all British officers and soldiers, not to impede its progress.

I also declare to your Excellency most positively, on the honour of a gentlemen, that the British army has received no provisions since it has been at Deleytosa, excepting some sent from Truxillo, by Senor Lozano de Torres, and I call upon the gentleman, who has informed his friend that biscuit addressed to the Spanish army has been taken by my commissaries, to prove the truth of his assertion.

But this letter from your Excellency brings the question respecting provisions to a fair issue. I call upon your Excellency to state distinctly, whether it is understood by you that the Spanish army are to have, not only all the provisions the country can afford, but all those which are sent from Seville, I believe, as much for the service of one army as of the other.

I beg you to let me know in reply to this letter, whether any magazines of provisions have been formed, and from whence the British troops are to draw their supplies.

I hope that I shall receive satisfactory answers to these two questions to-morrow morning. If I should not, I beg that your Excellency will prepare to occupy the post opposite Almaraz, as it will be impossible for me to remain any longer in a country in which no arrangement has been made for the supply of provisions for the troops; and in which it is understood that all the provisions which are either found in the country, or are sent from Seville, as I have been informed,

for the use of the British army, are to be applied solely and exclusively to the use of the Spanish troops.

In regard to the assertion in your Excellency's letter, that the British troops sell their bread to the Spanish soldiers, it is beneath the dignity of your Excellency's situation and character to notice such things, or for me to reply to them.

I must observe, however, that the British troops could not sell that which they had not, and that the reverse of the statement of your Excellency upon this subject is the fact, at the time the armies were at Talavera; as I have myself witnessed frequently in the streets of that town.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Captain-General Don Gregoria Cuesta.

## VII.

Merida, 25th August, 1809.

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I come now to the description of the troops, and here I am sorry to say that our allies fail us still more than they do in numbers and composition.

The Spanish cavalry are, I believe, nearly entirely without discipline. They are in general well clothed, armed, and accoutred, and remarkably well mounted, and their horses are in good condition; I mean those of Egula's army, which I have seen. But I have never heard any body pretend that in any one instance they have behaved as soldiers ought to do in presence of an enemy. They make no scruple of running off, and after an action are to be found in every village, and every shady bottom within fifty miles of the field of battle.

The Spanish artillery are as far as I have seen of them, entirely unexceptionable, and the Portuguese artillery excellent.

In respect to the great body of all armies, I mean the infantry, it is lamentable to see how bad that of the Spaniards is, and how unequal to a contest with the French. They are armed, I believe, well; they are badly accoutred, not having the means of saving their ammunition from the rain; not clothed in some instances at all, in others clothed in such a manner as to make them look like peasants, which ought of all things to be avoided; and their discipline appears to

me to be confined to placing them in the ranks, three deep at very close order, and to the manual exercise.

It is impossible to calculate upon any operation with these troops. It is said that sometimes they behave well, though I acknowledge I have never seen them behave otherwise than ill. Bassecourt's corps, which we supposed to be the best in Cuesta's army, and was engaged on our left in the mountains, at the battle of Talavera, was kept in check throughout the day by one French battalion: this corps has since run away from the bridge of Arzobispo, leaving its guns; and many of the men, according to the usual Spanish custom, throwing away their arms, accoutrements, and clothing. It is a curious circumstance respecting this affair at Arzobispo, (in which Soult writes that the French took 30 pieces of cannon) that the Spaniards ran off in such a hurry, that they left their cannon loaded and unspiked; and that the French, although they drove the Spaniards from the bridge, did not think themselves strong enough to push after them; and Colonel Waters, whom I sent in with a flag of truce on the 10th, relating to our wounded, found the cannon on the road, abandoned by the one party, and not taken possession of, and probably not known of by the other.

This practice of running away, and throwing off arms, accoutrements, and clothing, is fatal to every thing, excepting a re-assembly of the men in a state of nature, who as regularly perform the same manœuvre the next time an occasion offers. Nearly 2,000 ran off on the evening of the 27th from the battle of Talavera, (not one hundred yards from the place where I was standing,) who were neither attacked, nor threatened with an attack, and who were frightened only by the noise of their own fire: they left their arms and accoutrements on the ground, their officers went with them; and they, and the fugitive cavalry, plundered the baggage of the British army which had been sent to the rear. Many others whom I did not see, did the same.

Nothing can now be worse than the officers of the Spanish army; and it is extraordinary that when a nation has devoted itself to war, as this nation has, by the measures it has adopted in the last ten years, so little progress has been made in any one branch of the military profession, by any individual, and that the business of an army should be so little understood. They are really children in the art of war, and I cannot say that they do any thing as it ought to be done, with the exception of running away and assembling again in a state of nature.

I really believe that much of this deficiency of numbers,

composition, discipline, and efficiency, is to be attributed to the existing government of Spain. They have attempted to govern the kingdom in a state of revolution, by an adherence to old rules and systems, and with the aid of what is called enthusiasm; and this last is in fact no aid to accomplish any thing, and is only an excuse for the irregularity with which every thing is done, and for want of discipline and subordination of the armies.

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## VIII.

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR A. WELLESLEY, K.B., TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, K.T.

Deleytosa, 8th August, 1809.

MY LORD,—I received your Excellency's letter of the 21st, from Cadiz. I conclude that Mr. Frere will make your Excellency acquainted with the general situation of affairs in Spain.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of my despatch of this date to the Secretary of State, which will make you acquainted with the circumstances which have rendered it necessary for the armies to take up a defensive position behind the Tagus.

I have already apprised Mr. Frere in a private letter, of my opinion that it would be necessary to put in motion the Marquis de La Romana's or the Duque del Parque's troops, or some other in the north of Spain, to induce the enemy to weaken his force in Estramadura, before the armies could resume offensive operations. In the meantime it is necessary that many arrangements should be adopted to enable the troops to take advantage of any success they may have in an offensive operation, or even to maintain their defensive positions.

I shall endeavour to mention these in this despatch, with my reasons for thinking them absolutely necessary.

The first of these is the formation of magazines of provisions and forage, principally biscuit, cattle, and barley, at reasonable distances in the rear of the armies.

This part of Spain is but thinly inhabited, and but ill cultivated in proportion to its extent and its fertility, and it is nearly exhausted. As now equipped, the armies, amounting to not less than 60,000 mouths, and 16,000 to

18,000 horses, depend entirely for their daily supply of provisions upon the country, which does not contain a population in an extent of many square miles equal to the number of the army, and of course cannot produce a sufficiency for its subsistence. It is necessary, therefore, to send to great distances for supplies, which are procured with difficulty; consequently, the troops are ill-fed, and not regularly, and very frequently receive no food at all.

The next arrangement to be made is, to supply the armies with means of transport, not only to move forward the magazines when that may be necessary, which means should be specially attached to the magazines; but also means of transport to enable the army to communicate with the magazines, or to send to any part of the country for supplies of provisions or forage. 3000 or 4000 mules would effectually answer the first object; and I should consider the British army well supplied with what it would require, if it had 1500 mules and about 100 of the Valencian or Catalonian mule carts.

These measures are equally necessary for the Spanish and the British armies. No troops can serve to any good purpose unless they are regularly fed; and it is an error to suppose that a Spaniard, or a man or animal of any country can make an exertion without food. In fact, the Spanish troops are more clamorous for their food, and more exhausted if they do not receive it regularly, than our own are.

The other points to which I shall draw your attention are referable to the state of the Spanish troops. My opinion is, that an exertion ought to be made immediately to clothe them in the national uniform. By the adoption of this measure, the practice which prevails, I am sorry to say very generally, of throwing away their arms and accoutrements and running away, and pretending to be peasants, would be discontinued. Large bodies could not change their clothing or the distinctive marks of dress in a soldier; and it is probable that as they would not only find no security, but rather increase their danger by throwing away their arms and accoutrements in their flight, the state would not so frequently sustain the loss of these valuable articles.

Another advantage which would result from the more general use of the national uniform is, that it would be in the power of the General to punish the troops who misbehave before the enemy, in the manner most likely to affect the feelings of the Spaniards, viz. by disgrace. When a num-



ber of peasants are collected together with arms in their hands, and in the garb of peasants, it is difficult to fix a mark upon those corps or individuals who have behaved ill, which shall point them out as objects of execration to the whole community, and yet it is acknowledged that a punishment of this description would have ten times the effect of that which was lately carried into execution in the Spanish army, on account of the misbehaviour of some corps at the battle of Talavera, viz. the putting to death every tenth man, of the number who ran away, and the third or fourth of the officers!

If the whole army wore the national uniform, it would be possible to disgrace those who should misbehave either by depriving them of it, or by affixing some mark to it, which would tend more effectually than any thing else to prevent a repetition of those misfortunes.

It is difficult to describe to your lordship the extent to which this practice prevails: whole corps, officers and men, all run off upon the first appearance of danger; and I doubt not, if the truth could be ascertained, that the army of General Cuesta, which crossed the Tagus 36,000 or 38,000 strong, does not now consist of 30,000, although it has not lost 500 men in action with the enemy.

The plan of operations which I would recommend for the Spanish nation is one generally of defence. They should avoid general actions, but should take advantage of the strong points in their country to defend themselves and to harass the enemy. The principal army should be collected on the Tagus, if they can hold that river; or farther back if they cannot; and wherever they can form a body of troops, or the guerillas of the country can be put in motion, they should be employed upon the enemy's communication, and should be pushed on even to Madrid.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Marquis Wellesley.

## IX.

In a letter to Viscount Castlereagh, Secretary of State (dated Badajoz, 12th Sept., 1809,) Lord Wellington writes—"I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter of the 20th August, as well

as for the mark of the King's approbation, which your friendship for me has induced you to suggest to your colleagues to recommend to the King to confer upon me. I can only promise to do my best to prove myself not undeserving of the King's favour, and of the partiality of my friends. It has been most gratifying to me to read the proofs which you sent me that the King's mind corresponded with the wishes of my friends on this occasion; and I have great hopes that he will not be dissatisfied with subsequent transactions in this country, although they are of a different nature from those of which he had marked his approbation in a manner so gracious towards me."

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X.

LIEUT.-GENERAL VISCOUNT WELLINGTON, K.B., TO THE  
RIGHT HON. JOHN VILLIERS.

Pombal, 2nd of January, 1810.

MY DEAR VILLIERS,—I have received your letters of the 25th and 26th, and I send by this messenger copies of the despatch and letter which I received from the Secretary of State respecting the additional subsidy to be paid to the Portuguese Government. I conclude that you will have received a counterpart from Lord Wellesley, or from Lord Bathurst; but lest you should not, I hope that you will make the necessary communication to the Portuguese Government, founded upon the inclosed despatch.

I have requested Beresford to send you a plan for the augmentation of the pay of the officers of the army, the expense of which will be defrayed by this subsidy of £130,000 sterling. I shall not write to the Portuguese Government upon this or upon the other part of the subject, till I shall hear that you have communicated with them: and then only to urge and support the measure which you propose.

I have not seen the Commissary-General since I received your letter, nor shall I see him till I shall be at Coimbra to-morrow: but I know that he can give the Portuguese

Government provisions only in the way in which he can give them money, by depriving the British troops of them.

I believe there was never any officer, but certainly never a British officer, placed in so difficult a situation as I am in; every body looks for British assistance in every thing: money, stores, provisions, and all that keep an army together, are requested by both Spaniards and Portuguese; and they and the British nation, and even the Government, conceive that I have all at my command, and that I have only to say the word to supply their wants, and satisfy all their demands. The fact is, however, that I have not more than enough for my own army, and I have received the order of the Government to give nothing.

I can suggest no means of procuring the money required to keep the armies together, excepting that Government should send money out. I have told them so repeatedly; and I have lately requested Lord Liverpool to send out £200,000.—God knows whether it will arrive or not.

As soon as I shall see the Commissary-General, I will let you know what your proportion is of our receipts of December, and will give an order that it may be issued to you.

You see the dash which the common-council of the city of London have made at me! I act with a sword hanging over me, which will fall upon me whatever may be the result of affairs here; but they may do what they please, I shall not give up the game here, as long as it can be played.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

The Right Hon. J. Villiers.

THE SAME, TO THE RIGHT HON. THE SPEAKER OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Viseu, 6th of March, 1810.

SIR.—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 2nd of February, in which you enclosed the resolutions of the House of Commons, of the 1st of February, expressing the approbation of the House of my conduct, and that of the general officers, officers, and troops composing the army under my command, in the battle fought at Talavera on the 27th and 28th of July last.

In obedience to the orders of the House, I have communicated to the general officers, officers, and troops, this honourable testimony of the approbation of the House; and I beg leave to adopt this mode of expressing to the House, the high sense which I entertain of the honour which they have conferred on me, and upon the army under my com-

mand, and to assure them that I shall endeavour to merit their approbation by a zealous discharge of my duty.

I must likewise request you, Sir, to accept my thanks for the kindness towards me in the manner in which you have conveyed to me the pleasure of the House, a kindness of which I have already received repeated proofs during the period that I had the honour of being a member of the House of Commons.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

To the Right Hon. the Speaker }  
of the House of Commons. }

# XI.

LIEUT.-GENERAL VISCOUNT WELLINGTON K.B., TO THE  
EARL OF LIVERPOOL, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Alverea, 11th July, 1810.

MY LORD,—Since I wrote to your lordship this day, I have received a report that Ciudad Rodrigo surrendered to the enemy yesterday evening.

There was a large practicable breach in the place, and the enemy had made all the preparations for a storm, when Marshal Ney having offered terms of capitulation, the garrison surrendered.

The enemy took up their ground before this place on the 26th of April, they invested it completely on the 11th of June, broke ground before it on the 15th, and opened their fire upon it on the 24th of June: and adverting to the nature and position of the place, to the deficiency and defects of its works, to the advantages which the enemy had in their attack upon it, and to the numbers and formidable equipment by which it was attacked, I consider the defence of Ciudad Rodrigo to have been most honourable to the Governor, Don Andres Herasti, and its garrison; and to have been equally creditable to the arms of Spain, with the celebrated defence of other places by which this nation has been illustrated during the existing contest for its independence.

I have been most anxiously desirous to relieve the place since it has been attacked; and have been prevented from attempting its relief only by the certainty which I had that the attempt must fail; and that the immediate fall of the

place and the irrevocable loss of the cause of the allies would be the consequence of the failure.

I had intelligence, of the truth of which I could entertain no doubt, that the enemy had collected in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, for the purpose of the siege, the whole of the 6th and the 8th corps of the army in Spain; the former consisting of 31,611 effectives, including 4,856 cavalry; the latter consisting of 25,956 effectives, including 4,716 cavalry, according to the returns of those corps of a very late period which had been intercepted, and communicated to me. There were besides other troops employed in the communications with the rear, and with the right of the enemy's army. The country in which I must have carried on the operations to raise the siege, or even to relieve the place, would have been highly advantageous to the enemy, on account of his superiority in cavalry.

Under these circumstances, however much I have been interested in the fate of this place, not only on account of its military and political importance, but on account of its brave Governor, and garrison, and inhabitants, I have considered it my duty to refrain from an operation which it was probable would be attended by the most disastrous consequences.

While the Marquis de la Romana was here, I had arranged with him an operation, by which it was hoped that we might save the garrison; but the absolute impossibility of communicating with the Governor, for several days, has prevented its execution.

There was an affair between our pickets and those of the enemy this morning, in which the enemy lost 2 officers and 31 men and 29 horses, prisoners.

I have not received the detailed account of this affair; but I understood that we had the misfortune to lose Lieut.-Colonel Talbot and 8 men of the 13th light dragoons killed, and 23 men wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

The Earl of Liverpool.

## XII.

## PROCLAMATION.

{ Translated, not the  
original Draft.LORD VISCOUNT WELLINGTON, MARSHAL-GENERAL, &c. TO  
THE PORTUGUESE.

THE time which has elapsed during which the enemy has remained on the frontiers of Portugal, must have proved to the Portuguese nation what they have to expect from the French. The inhabitants of some villages have remained in them, confiding in the promises of the enemy, and hoping that by treating the enemies of their country well, they might conciliate and mollify them, and inspire them with humane sentiments; that their property would be respected, their females preserved from brutal outrage, and their lives secured. Vain hopes! The inhabitants of these submissive places have suffered all the evils which a cruel enemy could inflict; their property has been plundered, their habitations burnt, their women atrociously violated, and those whose age or sex did not provoke the brutal violence of the soldiers, have fallen victims to the imprudent confidence which they placed in promises made only to be broken.

The Portuguese must now see that no other means remain to avoid the evils with which they are threatened, but a determined and vigorous resistance, and a firm resolution to obstruct, as much as possible, the advance of the enemy into the interior of the kingdom, by removing out of his reach all such things as may contribute to his subsistence, or facilitate his progress.

These are the only and most certain means to prevent the evils with which the country is threatened.

The army under my command will protect as large a proportion of the country as possible; but it is obvious, that the people alone can deliver themselves by a vigorous resistance, and preserve their goods by removing them out of the reach of the enemy. The duties, therefore, that bind me to His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent of Portugal and to the Portuguese nation, oblige me to make use of the power and authority with which I am furnished, to compel the careless and indolent to make the necessary efforts to preserve themselves from the dangers which threaten them, and to save their country. In conformity with this, I make known and declare, that all magistrates and persons in au-

thority, who shall remain in the villages or towns, after having received orders from the military officers to remove from them, and all persons, of whatever class they may be, who shall maintain the least communication with, or aid and assist in any manner, shall be considered as traitors to the state, and tried and punished as such an enormous crime requires.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

4th of August, 1810.

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### XIII.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Sta. Marinha, 23rd March, 1811.

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I shall be sorry if Government should think themselves under the necessity of withdrawing from this country on account of the expense of the contest. From what I have seen of the objects of the French Government, and the sacrifices they make to accomplish them, I have no doubt that if the British army were from any reason to withdraw from the Peninsula, and the French Government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the Continent, they would incur all risks to land an army in his Majesty's dominions. Then indeed would commence an expensive contest; then would his Majesty's subjects discover what are the miseries of war, of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had no knowledge; and the cultivation, the beauty, and prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of the military operations. God forbid that I should be a witness, much less an actor in the scene; and I only hope that the King's Government will consider well what I have above stated to your lordship; will ascertain as nearly as is in their power, the actual expense of employing a certain number of men in this country, beyond that of employing them at home or elsewhere; and will keep up their force here on such a footing as will at all events secure their possessions without keeping the transports, if it does not enable their commander to take advantage of the events, and to assume the offensive.

## XIV.

LIEUT.-GENERAL VISCOUNT WELLINGTON, K.B., TO THE  
RIGHT HON. LORD ELDON, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

Elvas, 25th May, 1811.

MY LORD,—I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of the 29th of April, in which your lordship enclosed the resolutions of the House of Lords of the 26th April, expressing the approbation of your lordships of the conduct of the army under my command, during the late campaign in Portugal, which I have communicated, according to your lordship's desire, to the allied British and Portuguese armies.

The approbation of the House of Lords must be highly gratifying to the general officers and officers, by whose able assistance and support, and to the troops, by whose good conduct, discipline, and bravery (under Providence), the service has been performed, which their lordships have been pleased to distinguish in this manner; and I request your lordship to convey to the House of Lords the expression of my gratitude for the favour with which they have been pleased to view my endeavours to serve his Majesty, and for the high honour which their lordships have conferred upon me. I likewise request your lordship to accept my acknowledgments for the handsome terms in which your lordship has conveyed to me the sentiments of the House of Lords.

I have the honour, &c.

The Right Hon. Lord Eldon, }  
Lord High Chancellor.

WELLINGTON.

## XV.

GENERAL VISCOUNT WELLINGTON, K.B., TO THE EARL OF  
LIVERPOOL; SECRETARY OF STATE.

Gallegos, 20th January, 1812.

MY LORD,—I informed your lordship in my despatch of the 9th, that I had attacked Ciudad Rodrigo, and in that of the 13th, of the progress of the operation to that period, and I have now the pleasure to acquaint your lordship,



that we took the place by storm, yesterday evening after dark.

We continued from the 15th to the 19th, to complete the second parallel, and the communications with that work, and we had made some progress by sap towards the crest of the glacis. On the night of the 15th we likewise advanced from the left of the first parallel down the slope of the hill towards the convent of San Francisco to a situation from which the walls of the *fausse braye*, and of the town were seen, on which a battery for seven guns was constructed, and these commenced their fire on the morning of the 18th.

In the meantime, the batteries in the first parallel continued their cannonade, and yesterday evening their fire had not only considerably injured the defences of the place, but had made breaches in the *fausse braye* wall, and in the body of the place, which were considered practicable; while the batteries on the slope of the hill, which had been commenced on the night of the 15th, and had opened on the 18th, had been equally efficient still farther to the left, and opposite to the suburb of San Francisco.

I determined, therefore, to storm the place, notwithstanding that the approaches had not been brought to the crest of the glacis, and the counterscarp of the ditch was still entire. The attack was accordingly made yesterday evening, in five separate columns, consisting of the troops of the 3rd and light divisions, and of Brigadier-General Pack's brigade. The two right columns, conducted by Lieut.-Colonel O'Toole of the 2nd Cazadores, and Major Ridge of the 5th regiment, were destined to protect the advance of Major General Mackinnon's brigade, forming the 3rd, to the top of the breach in the *fausse braye* wall; and all these, being composed of troops of the 3rd division, were under the direction of Lieut.-General Picton.

The fourth column, consisting of the 43rd and 52nd regiments, and part of the 95th regiment, being of the light division, under the direction of Major-General Crawford, attacked the breaches on the left in front of the suburbs of San Francisco, and covered the left of the attack of the principal breach by the troops of the 3rd division, and Brig.-General Pack was destined, with his brigade, forming the fifth column, to make a false movement upon the southern face of the fort.

Besides these five columns, the 94th regiment, belonging to the 3rd division, descended into the ditch in two columns, on the right of Major General Mackinnon's brigade, with a view to protect the descent of that body into the ditch and

its attack of the breach in the *fausse braye*, against the obstacles which it was supposed the enemy would construct to oppose their progress.

All these attacks succeeded; and Brigadier-General Pack even surpassed my expectations, having converted his false attack into a real one; and his advanced guard, under the command of Major Lynch, having followed the enemy's troops from the advanced works into the *fausse braye*, where they made prisoners all opposed to them.

Major Ridge of the 2nd battalion, 5th regiment, having escalated the *fausse braye* wall, stormed the principal breach in the body of the place, together with the 94th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-General Campbell, which had moved along the ditch at the same time, and had stormed the breach at the *fausse braye*, both in front of Major Mackinnon's brigade. Thus, these regiments not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of Major-General Mackinnon's brigade, by their first movements and operations, but they preceded them in the attack.

Major-General Crawford, and Major-General Vandeleur, and the troops of the light division on the left, were likewise very forward on that side; and, in less than half an hour from the time the attack commenced, our troops were in possession of, and formed on the ramparts of the place, each body contiguous to the other. The enemy then submitted, having sustained a considerable loss in the contest.

Our loss was also, I am concerned to add, severe, particularly in officers of high rank and estimation in this army. Major-General Mackinnon was unfortunately blown up, by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's expense magazines, close to the breach, after he had gallantly and successfully led the troops under his command to the attack. Major-General Crawford likewise received a severe wound, (it was mortal) while he was leading on the light division to the storm, and I am apprehensive that I shall be deprived for some time of his assistance.

Major-General Vandeleur was likewise wounded in the same manner, but not so severely, and he was able to continue in the field.

I have to add to this list, Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne of the 52nd regiment, and Major George Napier, who led the storming party of the light division, and was wounded on the top of the breach.

I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship, the uniform good conduct, and spirit of enterprise and patience and perseverance in the performance of great labour, by

which the General officers, officers, and troops of the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and light divisions, and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, by whom the siege was carried on, have been distinguished during the late operations.

Lieutenant-General Graham assisted me in superintending the conduct of the details of the siege, besides performing the duties of the General officer commanding the 1st division; and I am much indebted to the suggestions and assistance I received from him for the success of this enterprise.

The conduct of all parts of the 3rd division, in the operations which they performed with so much gallantry and exactness on the evening of the 19th in the dark, afforded the strongest proof of the abilities of Lieutenant-General Picton and Major-General Mackinnon, by whom they were directed and led; but I beg particularly to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel O'Toole, of the 2nd Caçadores, of Major Ridge of the 2nd battalion of the 5th foot, of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 94th regiment, of Major Manners of the 74th, and of Major Grey of the 2nd battalion 5th foot, who has been twice wounded during this siege.

It is but justice also to the 3rd division to report that the men who performed the sap belonged to the 45th, 14th, and 88th regiments under the command of Captain Macleod, of the Royal Engineers, and Captain Thompson of the 74th, Lieutenant Beresford of the 88th, and Lieutenant Metcalfe, of the 45th, and they distinguished themselves not less in the storm of the place than they had in the performance of their laborious duty during the siege.

I have already reported, in my letter of the 9th instant, my sense of the conduct of Major-General Crawford, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, and of the troops of the light division, in the storm of the redoubt of San Francisco, on the evening of the 8th instant. The conduct of these troops was equally distinguished throughout the siege; and in the storm nothing could exceed the gallantry with which these brave officers and men advanced and accomplished the difficult operation allotted to them, notwithstanding that all their leaders had fallen.

I particularly request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Major-General Crawford, Major General Vandeleur, Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard of the 95th, Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, Major Gibbs, and Major Napier of the 52nd, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod of the 43rd. The conduct of Captain Duffy of the 43rd, and that of Lieute-

nant Garwood of the 52nd regiment, who was wounded, have likewise been particularly reported to me. Lieutenant-Colonel Elder and the 3rd Caçadores were likewise distinguished upon this occasion.

The 1st Portuguese regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, and the 10th under Colonel Campbell, being Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, were likewise distinguished in the storm, under the command of the Brigadier-General, who particularly mentions Major Lynch.

In my despatch of the 15th, I reported to your lordship the attack of the convent of St. Cruz by the troops of the 1st division, under the direction of Lieutenant-General Graham, and that of the convent of San Francisco on the 14th instant, under the direction of Major-General the Hon. C. Colville. The first-mentioned enterprise was performed by Captain La Roche de Starkfels, of the 1st line of battle King's German Legion, the last by Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, with the 40th regiment. This regiment remained from that time in the suburb of San Francisco, and materially assisted our attack on that side of the place.

Although it did not fall to the lot of the troops of the 1st and 4th divisions to bring these operations to a successful close, they distinguished themselves throughout their progress by the patience and perseverance with which they performed the labour of the siege. The brigade of Guards, under Major-General H. Campbell, was particularly distinguished in this respect.

I likewise request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieut.-Colonel Fletcher, the chief engineer, and of Brigade-Major Jones, and the officers and men of the Royal Engineers. The ability with which these operations were carried on exceeds all praise; and I beg leave to recommend these officers to your lordship most particularly.

Major Dickson, of the Royal Artillery, attached to the Portuguese artillery, has for some time had the direction of the heavy train attached to this army, and has conducted the intricate details of the late operation, as he did that of the two sieges of Badajos in the last summer, much to my satisfaction. The rapid execution produced by the well directed fire kept up from our batteries affords the best proof of the merits of the officers and men of the Royal Artillery, and of the Portuguese artillery employed on this occasion: but I must particularly mention Brigade-Major May, and Captains Holcombe, Power, Dynely, and Dundas, of the Royal Artillery, and Captains Da Cunha

and Da Costa, and Lieutenant Silva, of the 1st regiment of Portuguese artillery.

I have likewise particularly to report to your lordship the conduct of Major Sturgeon of the Royal Staff Corps. He constructed and placed for us the bridge over the Agueda, without which the enterprise could not have been attempted; and he afterwards materially assisted Lieut.-General Graham and myself in our reconnoissance of the place on which the plan of the attack was founded; and he finally conducted the 2nd battalion of the 5th regiment, as well as the 2nd Caçadores, to the points of attack.

The Adjutant-General, and the Quarter-Master-General, and the officers of their several departments, gave me every assistance throughout this service, as well as those of my personal staff; and I have great pleasure in adding that, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the increased difficulties of procuring supplies for the troops, the whole army have been well supplied, and every branch of the service provided for during the late operations, by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Commissary-General Bissett, and the officers belonging to his department.

The Mariscal de Campo, Don Carlos de Espana, and Don Julian Sanchez, observed the enemy's movements beyond the Tormes during the operations of the siege; and I am much obliged to them, and to the people of Castille in general, for the assistance I received from them. The latter have invariably shown their detestation of the French tyranny, and their desire to contribute, by every means in their power, to remove it.

I shall hereafter transmit to your lordship a detailed account of what we have found in the place; but I believe that there are 153 pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging to the French army, and great quantities of ammunition and stores. We have the Governor, General Barrié, and about 78 officers, and 1700 men, prisoners.

I transmit this despatch by my aide-de-camp, Major the Hon. A. Gordon, who will give your lordship any further details you may require; and I beg leave to recommend him to your protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

The Earl of Liverpool.

## XVI.

GENERAL THE EARL OF WELLINGTON, K.B., TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Camp before Badajoz, 7th of April, 1812.

MY LORD,—My dispatch of the 3rd instant will have apprized your lordship of the state of the operations against Badajoz to that date; which were brought to a close on the night of the 6th, by the capture of the place by storm.

The fire continued during the 4th and 5th, against the face of the bastion La Trinidad; and the flank of the bastion Santa Maria; and on the 4th, in the morning, we opened another battery of six guns in the second parallel against the shoulder of the ravelin of San Roque: and the wall in its gorge.

Practicable breaches were effected in the bastion above mentioned on the evening of the 5th, but as I had observed that the enemy had entrenched the bastion of La Trinidad, and the most formidable preparations were making for the defence, as well of the breach in that bastion, as of that in the bastion of Santa Maria, I determined to delay the attack for another day, and to turn all the guns in the batteries in the second parallel on the curtain of La Trinidad; in hopes, that by effecting a third breach, the troops would be enabled to turn the enemy's works for the defence of the other two; the attack of which would besides be connected by the troops destined to attack the breach in the curtain.

This breach was effected in the evening of the 6th, and the fire of the face of the bastion of Santa Maria, and of the flank of the bastion of La Trinidad being overcome, I determined to attack the place that night.

I had kept in reserve, in the neighbourhood of this camp, the 5th division under Lieutenant-General Leith, which had left Castille only in the middle of March, and had but lately arrived in this part of the country; and I brought them up on that evening. The plan for the attack was that Lieutenant-General Picton should attack the castle of Badajoz by escalade with the 3rd division; and a detachment from the guard in the trenches furnished that evening by the 4th division, under Major Wilson of the 48th regiment, should attack the ravelin of San Roque upon his left, while the 4th division under Major-General the Honourable C. Colville, and the light division under Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard,

should attack the breaches in the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria, and in the curtain by which they are connected. The 5th division were to occupy the ground which the 4th and light divisions had occupied during the siege; and Lieutenant-General Leith was to make a false attack upon the outwork called the Pardaleras; and another on the works of the fort, towards the Guadiana, with the left brigade of the division under Major-General Walker, which he was to turn into a real attack if circumstances should prove favourable; and Brigadier-General Power, who invested the place with his Portuguese brigade on the right of the Guadiana, was directed to make false attacks on the *tete de pont*, the fort San Christoval, and the new redoubt called *Mon Cœur*.

The attack was accordingly made at ten at night: Lieutenant-General Picton preceding by a few minutes the attacks by the remainder of the troops. Major-General Kempt led this attack, which went out from the right of the first parallel. He was unfortunately wounded in crossing the river Rivillas below the inundation; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the obstinate resistance of the enemy, the castle was carried by escalade; and the 3rd division established in it, at about half past eleven.

While this was going on, Major Wilson of the 48th, carried the ravelin of San Roque by the gorge, with a detachment of 200 men of the guard in the trenches; and with the assistance of Major Squire, of the engineers, established himself within that work.

The 4th and light divisions moved to the attack from the camp along the left of the river Rivillas, and of the inundation. They were not perceived by the enemy, till they reached the covered-way; and the advanced guards of the two divisions descended without difficulty into the ditch protected by the fire of the parties stationed on the glacis for that purpose; and they advanced to the assault of the breaches led by their gallant officers, with the utmost intrepidity. But such was the nature of the obstacles prepared by the enemy at the top and behind the breaches, and so determined their resistance, that our troops could not establish themselves within the place. Many brave officers and soldiers were killed or wounded by explosions at the top of the breaches; others who succeeded to them were obliged to give way, having found it impossible to penetrate the obstacles which the enemy had prepared to impede their progress. These attempts were repeated till twelve at night; when, finding that success was not to be attained, and that Lieutenant-

General Picton was established in the castle, I ordered that the 4th and light divisions might retire to the ground, on which they had been first assembled for the attack.

In the meantime, Lieutenant-General Leith had pushed forward Major-General Walker's brigade on the left, supported by the 38th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment under Colonel de Rego, and he made a false attack upon the Pardaleras with the 8th Caçadores under Major Hill. Major-General Walker forced the barrier on the road of Olivença, and entered the covered way on the left of the bastion of San Vicente, close to the Guadiana. He there descended into the ditch, and escalated the face of the bastion of San Vicente. Lieutenant-General Leith supported this attack by the 38th regiment, and 15th Portuguese regiment; and our troops being thus established in the castle, which commands all the works of the town, and in the town; and the 4th and light divisions being formed again for the attack of the breaches, all resistance ceased; and at day-light in the morning, the Governor, General Phillippon, who had retired to fort St. Christoval, surrendered, together with General Vielande, and all the staff, and the whole garrison.

I have not got accurate returns of the strength of the garrison, or of the number of prisoners. But General Phillippon has informed me that it consisted of 5,000 men at the commencement of the siege, of which 1,200 were killed or wounded during the operations; besides those lost in the assault of the place. There were five French battalions, besides two of the regiment of Hesse Darmstadt, and the artillery, engineers, &c; and I understand there are 4,000 prisoners.

It is impossible that any expressions of mine can convey to your lordship the sense which I entertain of the gallantry of the officers and troops upon this occasion. The list of killed and wounded will show that the general officers, the staff attached to them, the commanding and other officers of the regiments, put themselves at the head of the attacks which they severally directed, and set the example of gallantry which was so well followed by their men.

Marshal Sir William Beresford assisted me in conducting the details of this siege; and I am much indebted to him for the cordial assistance which I received from him, as well during its progress, as in the last operation which brought it to a termination.

The duties in the trenches were conducted successively by Major-General the Honourable C. Colville, Major-General



Bowes, and Major-General Kempt, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-General Picton.—I have had occasion to mention all these officers during the course of the operations; and they all distinguished themselves, and were all wounded in the assault. I am particularly obliged to Lieutenant-General Picton for the manner in which he arranged the attack of the Castle; for that in which he supported the attack, and established his troops in that important post.

Lieutenant-General Leith's arrangements for the false attack upon the Pardaleras, and that under Major-General Walker, were likewise most judicious; and he availed himself of the circumstances of the moment, to push forward, and support the attack under Major-General Walker, in a manner highly creditable to him. The gallantry and conduct of Major-General Walker, who was wounded, and of the other officers and troops under his command, were conspicuous.

The arrangements made by Major-General the Honourable C. Colville for the attack by the 4th division, were very judicious; and he led them to the attack in the most distinguished manner.

In consequence of the absence on account of sickness, of Major-General Vandeleur, and of Colonel Beckwith, Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard commanded the light division in the assault, and distinguished himself not less by the manner in which he made the arrangements for that operation, than by his personal gallantry in its execution.

I have also to mention Brigadier-General Harvey, of the Portuguese service, commanding a brigade in the 4th division, and Brigadier-General Champelmond, commanding the Portuguese brigade in the 3rd division, as highly distinguished. Brigadier-General Harvey was wounded in the storm.

Your lordship will see in the list of killed and wounded, a list of the commanding officers of regiments. In Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, of the 43rd regiment, who was killed in the breach, His Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who was an ornament to his profession, and was capable of rendering the most important services to his country. I must likewise mention Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, of the 52nd, who was wounded, and Major O'Hare of the 95th, unfortunately killed in the breach: Lieutenant-Colonel Elder of the 3rd, and Major Algeo of the 1st Caçadores. Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt of the 40th, likewise wounded, was highly distinguished; and Lieutenant-Colonels

Blakeney of the Royal Fusileers, Knight of the 27th, Erskine of the 48th, and Captain Leaky, who commanded the 23rd Fusileers, Lieutenant Colonel Ellis having been wounded during the previous operation of the siege.

In the 5th division I must mention Major Hill of the 8th Caçadores, who directed the false attack upon the fort Pardaleras. It was impossible for any men to behave better than these did.

I must likewise mention Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke of the 4th regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable G. Carleton of the 44th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gray of the 30th, who were unfortunately killed. The 2nd battalion, 38th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment, under Colonel Luiz de Rego, likewise performed their part in a very exemplary manner.

The officers and troops in the 3rd division have distinguished themselves as usual in these operations. Lieutenant-General Picton has reported to me particularly the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Williams of the 60th, Lieutenant-Colonel Ridge of the 5th, who was unfortunately killed in the assault of the castle. Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes of the 48th, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald of the 60th, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable R. Le P. French, and Lieutenant-Colonel Manners of the 74th, Major Carr of the 83rd, and Major the Honourable H. Pakenham, Assistant Adjutant-General to the 3rd division. He has likewise particularly reported the good conduct of Colonel Campbell of the 94th, commanding Major-General the Honourable Charles Colville's brigade, during his absence in command of the 4th division, whose conduct I have so repeatedly had occasion to report to your lordship.

The officers and men of the Corps of engineers and artillery, were equally distinguished during the operations of the siege, and in its close.

Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher continued to direct the works (notwithstanding that he was wounded in the sortie made by the enemy on the 19th of March,) which were carried on by Major Squire and Major Burgoyne, under his directions. The former established the detachments under Major Wilson, in the ravelin San Roque, on the night of the storm; the latter attended the attack of the 3rd division on the castle. I have likewise to report the good conduct of Major Jones, Captain Nicholas, and Captain Williams, of the Royal Engineers.

Major Dickson conducted the details of the artillery service during the siege, as well as upon former occasions, under the

general superintendence of Colonel Farmingham, who, since the absence of Major-General Borthwick, has commanded the artillery with the army.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the officers and soldiers of the Royal and Portuguese artillery during the siege, particularly that of Lieutenant-Colonel Robe, who opened the breaching batteries; Major May, Captain Gardiner, Major Holcombe, and Lieutenant Bouchier of the Royal Artillery; Captain de Retberg of the German, and Major Tulloh of the Portuguese artillery.

Adverting to the extent of the details of the ordnance department during this siege, to the difficulties of the weather, &c. with which Major Dickenson had to contend, I must mention him most particularly to your lordship.

The officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-Generals' department rendered me every assistance on this occasion, as well as those of my personal staff; and I have to add that I have received reports from the general officers commanding divisions, of the assistance they received from the officers of those departments attached to them the greatest number of whom, and of their personal staff, are wounded.

In a former despatch I reported to your lordship the difficulties with which I had to contend, in consequence of the failure of the civil authorities of the province of Alentejo to perform their duty and supply the army with means of transport. These difficulties have continued to exist; but I must do Major-General Victoria, the Governor of Elvas, the justice to report that he, and the troops under his command, have made every exertion, and have done every thing in their power to contribute to our success.

Marshal Soult left Seville on the 1st instant, with all the troops which he could collect in Andalusia; and he was in communication with the troops which had retired from Estremadura, under General Drouet, on the 3rd, and he arrived at Llerena on the 4th, I had intended to collect the army on the Albuera rivulet, in proportion as Marshal Soult should advance; and I had requested Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham to retire gradually upon Albuera, while Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hill should do the same on Talavera, from Don Benito, and the upper parts of Guadiana.

I do not think it certain that Marshal Soult has made any decided movement from Llerena since the 4th, although he has patrolled forward with small detachments of cavalry, and the advanced guard of his infantry have been at Usagre.

None of the army of Portugal have moved to join him.

According to the last reports which I have received of the

4th instant, from the frontier of Castille, it appears that Marshal Marmont had established a body of troops between the Agueda and the Coa, and he had reconnoitred Almeida on the 3rd, Brigadier-General Trant's division of militia had arrived upon the Coa, and Brigadier-General Willson's division was following with the cavalry, and Lieutenant-General the Conde d'Amarante was on his march, with a part of the corps under his command, towards the Douro.

It would be very desirable that I should have it in my power to strike a blow against Marshal Soult before he could be reinforced: but the Spanish authorities having omitted to take the necessary steps to provision Ciudad Rodrigo, it is absolutely necessary that I should return to the frontiers of Castille within a short period of the time. It is not very probable that Marshal Soult will risk an action in the province of Estremadura, which it would not be difficult for him to avoid, and it is very necessary that should he return to Andalusia, I must return to Castille.

I have the honour to enclose returns of the killed and wounded from the 31st of March, and in the assault of Badajos, and a return of the ordnance, small arms, and ammunition found in the place. I shall send the returns of provisions in the place by the next despatch. This despatch will be delivered to your lordship by my aide-de-camp Captain Canning, who I beg leave to recommend to your protection.

He has likewise the colours of the garrison, and the colours of the Hesse Darmstadt regiment, to be laid at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. The French battalions in the garrison had no eagles.

I have the honour to be, &c,

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

The Earl of Liverpool.

## XVII.

GENERAL THE EARL OF WELLINGTON, K.B., TO THE EARL  
OF BATHURST, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Flornes de Avila, 24th July, 1812.

MY LORD,—My aide-de camp, Captain Lord Clinton, will present to your lordship this account of a victory which the allied troops under my command gained in a general action fought near Salamanca on the evening of the 22nd instant, which I have been under the necessity of delaying to send till now, having been engaged ever since the action, in the pursuit of the enemy's flying troops.

In my letter of the 21st, I informed your lordship that both armies were near the Tormes; and the enemy crossed that river with the greatest part of his troops in the afternoon, by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, and moved by their left towards the roads leading to Ciudad Rodrigo.

The allied army, with the exception of the 3rd division, and General D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes in the evening by the bridge of Salamanca and the fords in the neighbourhood; and I placed the troops in a position, of which the right was upon one of the two heights called Dos Arapiles, and the left on the Tormes, below the ford of Sta Marta.

The 3rd division, and Brigadier-General D'Urban's cavalry, were left at Cabrerizos, on the right of the Tormes, as the enemy had still a large corps on the heights above Babila-fuente, on the same side of the river; and I consider it not improbable that, finding our army prepared for them in the morning on the left of the Tormes, they would alter their plan, and manœuvre by the other bank.

In the course of the night of the 21st, I received intelligence, of the truth of which I could not doubt, that General Clauzel had arrived at Pollos on the 20th, with the cavalry and horse artillery of the army of the north, to join Marshal Marmont; and I was quite certain that these troops would join him on the 22nd or 23rd at latest.

There was no time to be lost therefore; and I determined that, if circumstances should not permit me to attack him on the 22nd, I would move towards Ciudad Rodrigo without further loss of time, as the difference of the numbers of ca-

valry might have made a march of manoeuvre, such as we have had for the last four or five days, very difficult, and its result doubtful.

During the night of the 21st, the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarassa de Arriba, and of the heights near it called Nuestra Senora de la Pena, our cavalry being in possession of Calvarassa de Abaxo; and shortly after daylight detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant from our right of the two hills called Dos Arapiles.

The enemy, however, succeeded; their detachments being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer the hills than we were; by which success they strengthened materially their own position, and had in their power increased means of annoying ours.

In the morning, the light troops of the 7th division, and the 4th Cazadores belonging to General Pack's brigade were engaged with the enemy on the height called Nuestra Senora de la Pena, on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day. The possession by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles rendered it necessary for me to extend the right of the army *en potence* to the height behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with light infantry; and here I placed the 4th division, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Honourable L. Cole: and although, from the variety of the enemy's movements, it was difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of his intentions, I considered that upon the whole his objects were upon the left of the Tormes. I therefore ordered Major-General the Honourable E. Pakenham, who commanded the 3rd division in the absence of Lieutenant-General Picton, on account of ill health, to move across the Tormes with the troops under his command, including Brigadier-General D. Urban's cavalry, and to place himself behind Aldea Tejada. Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, and Don Carlos de Espana's infantry, having been moved up likewise to the neighbourhood of Las Torres, between the 3rd and 4th divisions.

After a variety of evolutions and movements, the enemy appeared to have determined upon his plan about two in the afternoon; and, under cover of a very heavy cannonade, which however did us but very little damage, he extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace by the position of his troops, and by his fire, our post on that of the two Arapiles which we possessed, and from thence to attack and break our line, or, at

all events, to render difficult any movement of ours to our right.

The extension of his line to his left, however, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him, for which I had long been anxious. I reinforced our right wing with the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Leith, which I placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division, and with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve; and as soon as these troops had taken their station, I ordered Major-General the Honourable E. Pakenham to move forward with the 3rd division and General D'Urban's cavalry, and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights; while Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th division under Lieutenant-General Leith, the 4th division under Lieutenant-General the Honourable L. Cole, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, the 7th under Major-General Hope, and Don Carlos de España's Spanish division; and Brigadier-General Pack should support the left of the 4th division, by attacking that of the Dos Arapiles which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.

The attack upon the enemy's left was made in the manner above described, and completely succeeded. Major-General the Honourable E. Pakenham formed the 3rd division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew everything opposed to him. These troops were supported in the most gallant style by the Portuguese cavalry under Brigadier-General D'Urban, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hervey's squadrons of the 14th, who successfully defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the 3rd division.

Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th and 4th divisions, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them from one height to another, bringing forward their right, so as to acquire strength upon the enemy's flank in proportion to the advance. Brigadier-General Pack made a gallant attack upon the Arapiles, in which, however, he did not succeed, excepting in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps placed upon it from the troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Cole in his advance.

The cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces. In this charge Major-General La Marchant was killed at the head of his brigade; and I have to regret the loss of a most able officer.

After the crest of the height was carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th division, which, after a severe contest, was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having thrown some troops on the left of the 4th division, after the failure of Brigadier-General Pack's attack upon the Arapiles, and Lieutenant-General the Honourable L. Cole having been wounded.

Marshal Sir William Beresford, who happened to be on the spot, directed Brigadier-General Spry's brigade of the 5th division, which was in the second line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division; and, I am sorry to add, that, while engaged in this service, he received a wound which I am apprehensive will deprive me of the benefit of his counsel and assistance for some time.

Nearly about the same time, Lieutenant-General Leith received a wound which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field. I ordered up the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, to relieve the 4th, and the battle was soon restored to its former success.

The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist, and I ordered the 1st and light divisions, and Colonel Stubb's Portuguese brigade of the 4th division, which was re-formed, and Major General William Anson's brigade, likewise of the 4th division, to turn to the right, while the 6th division, supported by the 3rd and 5th, attacked the front. It was dark before this point was carried by the 6th division; and the enemy fled through the woods, towards the Tormes. I pursued them with the 1st and light divisions, and Major-General Sir William Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and some squadrons of cavalry under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, as long as we could find any of them together; directing our march upon Huerta and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover, who must otherwise have been in our hands.

I am sorry to report, that, owing to this same cause, Lieu-



tenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton was unfortunately wounded by one of our sentries after we had halted.

We renewed the pursuit at break of day in the morning with the same troops, and Major-General Bock's and Major-General Anson's brigades of cavalry, which joined during the night; and, having crossed the Tormes, we came up with the enemy's rear of cavalry and infantry near La Serna. They were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. I have never witnessed a more gallant charge than was made on the enemy's infantry by the heavy brigade of the King's German Legion, under Major General Bock, which was completely successful; and the whole body of infantry, consisting of three battalions of the enemy's 1st division, were made prisoners.

The pursuit was afterwards continued as far as Penaranda last night, and our troops were still following the flying enemy.

Their head-quarters were in this town, not less than ten leagues from the field of battle, for a few hours last night; and they are now considerably advanced in the road towards Valladolid, by Veala. They were joined yesterday on their retreat, by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, which have arrived at too late a period, it is to be hoped, to be of much assistance to them.

It is impossible to form a conjecture of the amount of the enemy's loss in this action; but, from all reports, it is very considerable. We have taken from them 11 pieces of cannon, several ammunition waggons, 2 eagles, and 6 colours; 1 General, 3 Colonels, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank, and between 6,000 and 7,000 soldiers are prisoners, and our detachments are sending in more, at every moment. The number of dead on the field is very large.

I am informed that Marshal Marmont is badly wounded, and has lost one of his arms; and that four general officers have been killed, and several wounded.

Such an advantage could not have been acquired without material loss on our side: but it certainly has not been of a magnitude to distress the army or cripple its operations.

I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship that, throughout this trying day, of which I have related the events, I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the general officers and troops.

The relation I have written of its events will give a general idea of the share which each individual had in them; and

I cannot say too much in praise of every individual in his station.

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In a case in which the conduct of all has been conspicuously good, I regret that the necessary limits of a despatch prevent me from drawing your lordship's notice to the conduct of a larger number of individuals; but I can assure your lordship that there was no officer or corps engaged in this action, who did not perform his duty to his Sovereign and his country.

\* \* \* \* \*

Captain Lord Clinton will have the honour of laying at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the eagles and colours taken from the enemy in this action.

I enclose a return of the killed and wounded.

By letters received from Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Howard Douglas, I learn that General Santocildes had left 8,000 men to carry on the siege of Astorga, and had joined General Cabrera's division at Benevente, with about 3,000; and that the whole 7,000 were on their march along the Esla towards the Douro.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

The Earl Bathurst.

## XVIII.

TO EARL RATHURST.

Salvatierra, 22nd June, 1813.

MY LORD, — The enemy commanded by King Joseph, having Marshal Jourdan as the Major-General of the army, took up a position on the night of the 19th instant, in front of Vittoria; the left of which rested upon the heights which end at La Puebla de Arganzon, and extended from thence across the valley of the Zadorra, in front of the village of Arinez. They occupied with the right of the centre a height which commanded the valley to the Zadorra. The right of their army was stationed near Vittoria, and was destined to defend the passages of the river Zadorra, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha. The nature of the country through which the army had passed since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns; and we halted on the 20th, in order to close them up, and moved the left wing to Murgula, where it was most likely it would be required. I reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should remain in it.

We accordingly attacked the enemy yesterday, and I am happy to inform your lordship, that the allied army under my command have gained a complete victory, and driven them from all their positions, having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure &c., and a considerable number of prisoners.

The operations of the day commenced by Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which heights they had not occupied in great strength. He detached for this service, one brigade of the Spanish division under General Morillo; the other brigade being employed in keeping the communication between his main body on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, however, soon discovered the importance of these heights, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent, that Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill was obliged to detach, first the 71st regiment and the light infantry battalion of General Walker's brigade, under the

command of Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable H. Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point; and the allies not only gained, but maintained possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to retake them.

The contest here was, however, very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Morille was wounded, but remained in the field; and I am concerned to have to report that Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable H. Cadogan has died of a wound he received. In him his majesty has lost an officer of great merit and tried gallantry, who had already acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession, and of whom it might have been expected that, if he had lived, he would have rendered the most important services to his country.

Under cover of the possession of these heights Sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadorra at La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadorra, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Subijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which the enemy made repeated attempts to regain.

The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between our different columns moving to the attack from their stations on the river Bayas at as early an hour as I had expected; and it was late before I knew that the column, composed of the 3rd and 7th divisions, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the station appointed for them. The 4th and light divisions, however, passed the Zadorra immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had possession of Subijana de Alava; the former at the bridge of Nanciaras, and the latter at the bridge of Trespuentes; and almost as soon as these had crossed, the column under the Earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendoza; and the 3rd division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by the 7th division, under the Earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the height on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Subijana de Alava to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria.

Our troops continued to advance in admirable order notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. In the meantime

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and General Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and General Bock's and Anson's of cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Murguia, moved forward from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilbao. He had, besides, with him the Spanish division under Colonel Longa; and General Giron, who had been detached to the left, under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, and had arrived on the 20th at Orduna, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, if his support had been required.

The enemy had a division of infantry with some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilbao, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Mayor. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied as *tetes du pont* and the bridges over the Zadorra at these places. Brigadier-General Pack with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa with his Spanish division, were directed to turn again the heights supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry under the command of all these troops.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham reports, that in the execution of this service the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably. The 4th battalion of Caçadores, and 8th Caçadores, particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor.

As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Mayor was most gallantly stormed and carried by Major Robertson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon.

The Lieutenant-General then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco with the 1st division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dabourdiou's brigade, and Captain Ramsay's troops of horse artillery; and under cover of this fire, Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried; the light battalions having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. This attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry.

During the operations at Abechuco the enemy made the

greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Mayor, which were gallantly repulsed by the 8th division, under the command of Major-General Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of Zadorna, two divisions of infantry in reserve; and it was impossible, to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria.

The whole then co-operated in the pursuit which was continued by all till after it was dark.

The movement of the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham and their possession of Gamarra and Abenchuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pampeluna; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position at Arinez and on the Zadorna, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had were taken close to Vittoria. I have reason to believe that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only.

The army under King Joseph consisted of the whole of the armies of the south, and of the centre, and of four divisions and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the north. General Foy's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilbao; and General Clauzel, who commanded the army of the north, was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by General Taupin, and General Vander-Massen's division of the army of the north. The 6th division of the allied army under Major-General the Honourable E. Pakenham was likewise absent, having been detained at Medina de Pomar for three days, to cover the march of our magazines and stores.

I cannot extol too highly the good conduct of all the general officers, officers and soldiers of the army in this action. Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hill speaks highly of the conduct of General Morillo and the Spanish troops under his command, and that of Lieutenant-Generals the Honourable W. Stewart, and the Conde de Amarante, who commanded divisions of infantry under his directions. He likewise mentions the conduct of Colonel the Honourable R. W. O'Callaghan, who maintained the village of Subijana de Alava against all the efforts of the enemy to regain possession of

it, and that of Lieutenant Colonel Rooke, of the Adjutant-General's department, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable A. Abercromby, of the Quarter-Master-General's department.

It was impossible for the movements of any troops to be conducted with more spirit and regularity than those of their respective divisions by Lieutenant-Generals the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole, and Major-General Baron Charles Alten. The troops advanced in *echelons* of regiments in two, and occasionally three lines, and the Portuguese troops of the 3rd and 4th divisions under the command of Brigadier-General Power and Colonel Stubbs, led the march with steadiness and gallantry never surpassed on any occasion.

Major-General the Honourable C. Colville's brigade of the 3rd division, was seriously attacked in its advance by a very superior force well formed, which it drove in, supported by General Inglis's brigade of the 7th division, commanded by Colonel Grant of the 82nd. Their officers and the troops under their command, distinguished themselves.

Major-General Vandeleur's brigade, of the light division, was, during the advance to Vittoria, detached to the support of the 7th division; and Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie has reported most favourably of its conduct. Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham particularly reports his sense of the assistance he received from Colonel de Lancy, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and from Lieutenant-Colonel Bouverie, of the Adjutant-General's department, and from the officers of his personal staff; and from Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable A. Upton, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and Major Hope, Assistant Adjutant-General, with the 1st division; and Major-General Oswald reports the same of Lieutenant-Colonel Berkeley of the Adjutant-General's department, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gomm of the Quarter-Master-General's department.

I am particularly indebted to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, for the manner in which they have respectively conducted the services entrusted to them since the commencement of the operations which have ended in the battle of the 31st; and for their conduct in that battle; as likewise to Marshal Sir W. Beresford, for the friendly advice and assistance which I have received from him upon all occasions during the late operations.

I must not omit to mention, likewise, the conduct of General Giron, who commands the Gallician army, who

made a forced march from Orduna, and was actually on the ground in readiness to support Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham.

I have frequently been indebted, and have had occasion to call the attention of your lordship to the conduct of the Quarter-Master-General, Sir George Murray, who, in the late operations, and in the battle of the 21st of June, has again given the greatest assistance. I am likewise much indebted to Lord Aylmer, the deputy Adjutant-General, and to the officers of the departments of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General respectively; and also to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and those of my personal staff, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, and the officers of the Royal Engineers.

Colonel His Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Grange was in the field as my aide-de-camp, and conducted himself with his usual gallantry and intelligence.

Mariscal de Campo, Don Luis Wimpffen, and the Inspector-General, Don Thomas O'Donoghue, and the other officers of the staff of the Spanish army, have invariably rendered me every assistance in their power in the course of these operations; and I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction with their conduct; as likewise with that of Mariscal de Campo Don Miguel Alava; and of the Brigadier-General Don Josef O'Lalor, who have been so long and usefully employed with me.

The artillery was most judiciously placed by Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, and was well served; and the army is particularly indebted to that corps.

The nature of the ground did not allow of the cavalry being generally engaged; but the general officers commanding the several brigades, kept the troops under their command respectively close to the infantry to support them, and they were most active in the pursuit of the enemy after they had been driven through Vittoria.

I send this despatch by my aide-de-camp, Captain Freemantle, whom I beg to recommend to your lordship's protection. He will have the honour of laying at the feet of His Royal Highness, the colours of the 4th battalion, 100th regiment, and Marshal Jourdan's baton of a Marshal of France, taken by the 87th regiment.

I enclose a return of the killed and wounded in the late operations, and a return of the ordnance carriages and ammunition, taken from the enemy in the action of the 21st instant.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Earl Bathurst.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON



## XIX.

Waterloo, June 19th, 1815.

**MY LORD.**—Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march, and afterwards to move to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters, to prove that the enemy's movement on Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove in the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sambre, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division under General Perponcher, and in the morning early recovered part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the meantime, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras; and the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, except the 1st and 2nd corps; and a body of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their

usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of cavalry and infantry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry on our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42nd, 79th, and 92nd regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive from the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher maintained his position at Sambref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged; and as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army on Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part, and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrolle which I had sent to Sambref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fall back as the patrolle advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, except by following, with a large body of cavalry

brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouché from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo, crossed the high road from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter La Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougomont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher, at Wavre, through Ohain; and the Marshal promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blücher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougomont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were invariably unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards,

highly distinguished themselves, as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Eusepermont upon Planchenorte and La Belle Alliance had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohlsm, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blücher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add that ours has been immense. In Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, his Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service, and he fell gloriously, leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated. The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his Majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct, till he received a wound

from a musket-ball, through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never upon any occasion conducted itself better. The division of Guards, under Lieutenant-General Cooke, (who is severely wounded) Major-General Maitland and Major-General Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must however, particularly mention, for his Royal Highness's approbation, Lieutenant-General Sir H. Clinton, Major-General Adam, Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alton, severely wounded; Major-General Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompstead, Colonel Mitchell, commander a brigade of the 4th division; Major-General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Dennis Pack, Major-General Landen, Major-General Lord E. Somerset; Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, Major-General Sir C. Grant, and Major-General Sir H. Vivian; Major-General Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-General Count Dornberg. I am particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct on this, as upon all former occasions.

The Artillery and Engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction, by Colonel Sir G. Wood and Colonel Smith; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-General, Major-General Barnes, and of the Quarter-Master-General, Colonel De Lacey, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his Majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wound, was a most promising officer, and a serious loss to his Majesty's service.

General Kruse of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alva, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my own feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them.

The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire; if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should have unfortunately succeeded.

I send with this despatch two eagles taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness.

I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received a report that Major-General Sir William Ponsonby is killed; and, in announcing this intelligence to your lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief for the fate of an officer, who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and was an ornament to his profession.

THE END.

*Uniform with this may be had*

## THE BASKET OF FLOWERS ; or Piety and Truth Triumphant. A Tale for the Young.

It is to be deplored that a large portion of the cheap literature which issues from the press, and gets into the hands of the young, is of a very suspicious character, and calculated, we fear, to poison their minds. This little volume is of a quite contrary character.—It is a bright gem amongst the literary productions of the present day :—a tale of deep interest to the youthful mind ; calculated to rivet the attention, inform the mind, and amend the heart.

Published by W. Milner, Halifax.

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## THE POETICAL KEEPSAKE.

What multitude court the Muses, and aspire to be gifted with poetic genius, whose productions are not worth the paper on which they are printed. Here, however, in this neat little volume, is a collection of poetical effusions of sterling merit ; whose sweetness will win upon the heart, and calm and soothe the perturbed passions of the worst part of our nature. We would advise all to obtain a copy of this Keepsake, and value it as it deserves.

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## THE POETICAL WORKS of Mrs. H. MORE. with a Memoir of the Author's Life.

The name of the talented lady attached to this work is a sufficient recommendation to the value of its contents. In this volume is contained a diversity calculated to please all tastes. Here the lover of sacred harmony may find themes worthy of his meditation ;—here he who delights to rove amongst rural and pastoral scenery, may luxuriate to his heart's content ;—and here he who takes pleasure in tales of humour, without coarseness, may indulge himself to satiety. In short, every one may be benefited by a perusal of this handsome volume.

Published by W. Milner, Halifax.

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## PRETTY LITTLE STORIES for PRETTY LITTLE PEOPLE. By Miss Sedgwick.

The name of the fair authoress of this little work, will be a sufficient guarantee for its superior excellence. The pleasing and attractive garb in which these short stories is clothed is well calculated to awaken the interest, and engage the attention of our youthful population.

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## SONGS OF THE AFFECTIONS, and other Poems. By Mrs. Hemans.

We would not have the presumption to think that these remarks of ours will add any fame to the works of the talented authoress of this handsome little volume. But we will venture to say, that we are of opinion that the sweetest and choicest of her productions are selected and embodied in this work. These 'Songs' breathe forth the pure feelings of a guiltless heart; and are calculated to awaken in every bosom susceptible to feelings of tenderness, the holiest emotions. We would recommend every one who is not in possession of a copy of this work, to obtain one without delay.

Published by W. Milner, Halifax.

## THE SACRED HARP OF AMERICAN POETRY. With occasional Notes.

We trust that the day may be long distant when we shall neglect to feel an interest in whatever pertains to America.---She is the offspring of England. It is with pleasure that we notice this little work---the productions of our transatlantic brethren. We venture to assert that they will bear a comparison with the productions of our best British poets. A holy devotional feeling pervades these sacred effusions; and they are admirably adapted to raise up the thoughts of the saint on earth to the bright mansions of glory in Heaven. We would earnestly recommend it to all who take pleasure in reading good poetry.

Published by W. Milner, Halifax.

## PIOUS MEMORIALS ; or, the Power of Religion upon the mind, in Sickness and at Death ; exemplified in the happy experience of many eminent Divines, and others, at those times. By R. Burnham.

In traversing the thorny and rugged path of this life, the Christian Pilgrim is continually in need of Divine and human assistance, to sustain and encourage him onward. For the first, he knows where to apply; for the second, we would recommend him to study the exemplary lives and happy deaths of the eminent mortals contained in this volume.---They are memorials which ought to be treasured in the mind of every Christian.---Those who are undecided,---halting between two opinions---who are "almost persuaded to be Christians,"---we would affectionately entreat to carefully peruse and study the characters of the good and holy persons delineated in this work; and, we feel assured, that if open to conviction, they will speedily be brought to decision for the Lord.---The sceptic and the infidel, who impudently dare to call in question and deny the truth of Divine revelation, and who laugh to scorn the Divine realities of the religion of Jesus Christ, will be completely put to silence by perusing the pages of this inestimable book---to such we would advise its perusal.

Published by W. Milner, Halifax.



## THE BOOK FOR THE LORD'S DAY; for Schools and Families. Illustrated with Anec- dotes and many Wood Cuts. By Bourne Hall Draper.

The juvenile portion of our population cannot be too grateful for the abundant facilities which are afforded them of improving their minds, and making them wiser and better than their fathers. This pretty little work is admirably adapted to awaken the better feelings of our youth; and to lead their thoughts from Nature up to Nature's God. The arrangement is well calculated to engage the attention of the young; the preceptive part being pointedly illustrated by the pleasing anecdote, and the alluring engraving. There are also apposite questions at the end of each subject, so that the mind of the pupil may be drawn to a knowledge of what has been read. Every family ought to possess a copy of this work.

Published by W. Milner, Halifax.

The following are a few of the recommendations of this work, to be found in our periodical publications:

"Mr. B. H. Draper's books for the young are always of that character which may be put into their hands with a moral certainty that they will be beneficial. Nor does the one just published, entitled 'The Book for the Lord's Day,' depart from the general standard of excellence to which his former productions have attained. We may safely recom- mend this as an admirable little book for the young."—*Evangelical Register*.

"The character of the esteemed author of this excellent publication is too well known as the pious and intelligent friend of the rising generation, to make it necessary for us to do more than to say, that his well-earned reputation will experience no diminution by this additional effort of his pen."—*Baptist Magazine*.

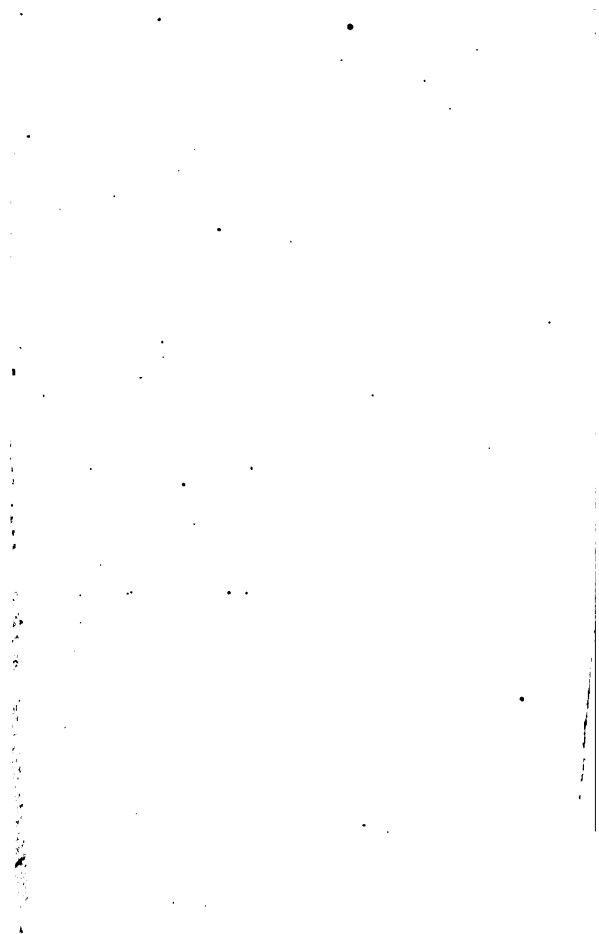
"The Rev. Dr. Draper has added to his numerous publications for the young, a very valuable and judicious one, entitled, 'The Book for the Lord's Day; for Schools and Families.' It is illustrated by many wood- cuts and anecdotes, and is admirably adapted for the use of our young friends on the Sabbath."—*The Revue*.

## TRIUMPHS OF FAITH; or the real Christi- an's Hope in Death: containing many valuable Lives of Ministers of the Gospel, and others, who have given their Dying Testimony of Christ's Power to Save.

In this next volume there is an assemblage of moral heroes whose tri- umphs are of a far different kind from those which are achieved by the titled general of earth; and though these Christian warriors may not have received the smile and approbation of an earthly monarch, yet, whi- ch is of far more value, they have received the smile and approbation of him who is King of kings and Lord of lords. All, yes, all may be benefited by a careful perusal of this valuable work;—the really good may be made better; the timid and doubting Christian may have his faith strengthened and hope revived; and the careless and unconcerned sinner may be awak- ened to a sense of his danger, and be induced to flee to Christ, who alone has power to save.

Published by W. Milner, Halifax.





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